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Our cover illustration shows a reconstruction of a private of the 17th Lancers, Crimea, 1854: see article P25. (Photo: Mike Perring)

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# EDITORIAL

The illustrations for our article on US infantry accoutrements of the War of 1812 are by **H. Charles McBarron**, one of the best-known and most prolific military painters of this century, and the doyen of American military artists. Born in Chicago in 1902, Mr. McBarron has published hundreds of paintings and drawings of all periods, most notably in the publications of the Company of Military Historians, of which he is a founding member and fellow; and his work hangs in a number of museums, military colleges and other venues. We are proud to welcome him to our pages.

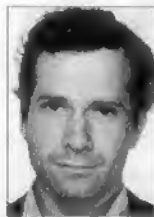
The article is written by **Frederick C. Gaede**, a Maryland businessman born in Baltimore in 1947. A lifelong military history enthusiast, Fred Gaede has also run, since 1975, a small business specialising in quality reproduction items for 'Living History' and similar organisations (he asks us to point out that he does not, sadly, accept individual commissions). A charter member of several such organisations himself, including the Revolutionary War 1st Maryland Regt., and the Baltimore Light Artillery, CSA, his interest in accoutrements started with the purchase of and later research into a cartridge box by Robert Dingee of New York. He has published extensively; and is currently the editor of the CMH journal *Military Collector and Historian*.

Our Gallery piece on the formidable Hugh de Lacy is contributed by **Sarah Speight**, a history BA (Hons) from Manchester University in 1987, reflecting her special interest in the First Crusade and the Byzantine Empire, led on to a Nottingham MA in archaeology in 1989, for which she researched early medieval border fortifications and the Warenne earls of Surrey. She is currently working for a PhD on the lifestyle of the 12th century Yorkshire aristocracy. Sarah works part-time for Wargames Foundry, and is a member of the English Civil War Society.

The painting of de Lacy is by **Michael Perry**, whose three-dimensional work will be known to discerning modellers with an interest in early periods. Michael began scratch-building 90mm figures while still at school, and has been a designer and sculptor for Games Workshop since 1978; he also makes historical miniatures for Wargames Foundry. His main interests are 19th century warfare and medieval arms and armour; he is a member of the English Civil War Society, the White Company, and the Company of St. George.



**Sarah Speight**



**Michael Perry**



**Fred Gaede & Hugh McBarron**



## Hampshire Boer War Memorials Project

Following a generous grant from the County Council, the Victorian Military Society is about to undertake a major research project to record all memorials to the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902, in Hampshire; this is part of a nationwide initiative run for the past three years under the auspices of the VMS by Tony McCabe and Meurig Jones. Some 32 memorials have already been located in Hampshire, but many more exist — often inside churches, town halls and other buildings and not readily accessible. The assistance of Hampshire residents is needed, both to locate surviving memorials and to record details of others which may now be lost. Anyone who has any information which may be of use should contact Tony McCabe at 21 Bassano St., E. Dulwich, London SE22 8RU, or Meurig Jones at 16 Caroline Place, Harlington, Middx. UB3 5AF, sending a large SAE for details.

## McCrae's Bunker Appeal

The Flanders Scottish Alliance, at 3/2

Academy St., Leith, Edinburgh EH6 7EE, are trying to raise money to renovate — and to enlarge with an on-site museum — the surviving aid post outside Ypres, Belgium, used by the soldier-poet Lt. Col. John McCrae. This Scottish-Canadian officer wrote the immortal *'In Flanders Fields the poppies grow, between the crosses, now on now...'* — probably the most quoted of all Great War poems. McCrae, a Boer War veteran, served at the Essex Farm Field Dressing Station near Ypres for about a year in 1915; he and his staff saved countless lives, and the poem was written in his dispatch book while he was recovering from 17 continuous days and nights of duty during Second Ypres, including six days without rest.

The bunker is now in sad disrepair; but it is possible to save it, to clean it up, to preserve the signatures which the men who served there left on the walls, and to display such relics as McCrae's medical tools. Some photographs survive showing the post's appearance in use, and others are sought. The Alliance, a registered charity, has received generous offers of financial

and physical help from very many organisations and individuals, including former and serving British and Canadian personnel; and the appeal has the full backing of the Belgian authorities (who are offering free local accommodation to volunteers) and the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. If you think you can help, or want more information, contact Kevin Earnshaw, the director of the appeal, at the above address.

## Royal Netherlands Army Museum uniform chart

We receive from Frans Smits, Jr., curator of the uniform department at the Royal Netherlands Army Museum at Delft, Holland, a copy of this attractive uniform chart, below, illustrating in full colour the Dutch-Belgian troops of the 1815 Waterloo campaign — 35 figures, with captions in English and Dutch on the reverse. It can be ordered from the museum for £2.00, currency or money order. The full name and address is: Koninklijk Nederlands Leger en Wapenmuseum, Armamentarium, Korte Geer 1, 2611 CA Delft, Netherlands.

The museum contains many interesting survivals and exhibits, from the earliest times to the present; it is within easy walking distance of the main bus and rail station, and is open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Tuesdays to Saturdays, 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. Sundays, closed Mondays. While all periods are covered, 'pike and shot' enthusiasts should be particularly interested by items in this important collection. British readers who have not yet sampled Holland's welcoming atmosphere should consider this easy cross-Channel expedition.



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## ON THE SCREEN

### Video Releases to Buy:

- 'Operation Desert Storm' (Video Collection)
- 'War in the Gulf' (Newsbrief)
- 'Desert Storm: The Beginning' (First Independent)
- 'Desert Storm: The Victory' (First Independent)
- 'Air Strike: Desert Storm' (AMI)
- 'The Delta Force' (MGM/Pathé: 18)

The recent Gulf War was inevitably going to be the subject of video releases; punters already have a variety to choose from. *Operation Desert Storm* is a two-hour documentary compiled from ITN footage and narrated by reporter Nicholas Owen. Included are profiles of Saddam Hussein and 'Stormin' Norman Schwarzkopf, a history of the events that led up to the invasion of Kuwait, the hostage crisis, and Operations *Desert Shield* and *Desert Storm*. The occasional use of classical music to heighten emotional effect is unnecessary, but this is a well-presented programme which combines both political insight and military detail. A coloured map is included on the inside sleeve but lacks sufficient detail to be of more than superficial use. A proportion of the profits from this video go to the Gulf Trust, the official charity for bereaved families and injured troops.

Those preferring the BBC's version of events should turn to *War in the Gulf*. At 90 minutes this is some half-an-hour shorter, but covers much the same ground. It is narrated by Radio 4 presenter John Humphrys, but unlike the previous tape includes contributions from reporters, such as John Sissons, Martin Bell and Kate Adie, on the spot as they address the camera.

An American view of the war can be found on *Desert Storm: The Beginning* and *Desert Storm: The Victory*. This two-part programme is compiled from CNN footage, including contributions from Peter Arnett and Bernard Shaw. Despite the use of dramatic music and computer graphics the general impression is of a programme that has been thrown together in a hurry. Some time is given to interviews with American military personnel; by contrast, important political events such as the hostage crisis are barely mentioned, being too often quickly dispensed with as a headline which slides across the screen. The programmes characterise the war as a contest between Saddam Hussein and President Bush. Little consideration is given to the Allied side. The political instability in the Middle East is seen as a direct result of the occupation of the area by Britain and France after the First World War. The total running time of the two tapes is about three hours.

*Air Strike: Desert Storm* was evidently rushed into production before the war was concluded. This 55-minute programme begins with a brief history of precision bombing: archive footage covers the First World War, tests car-

ried out by Billy Mitchell, B-17 raids over Germany, and Vietnam. The second part gives a brief description of the various types of American aircraft and missiles to be employed in the Gulf, including the F-117 Stealth fighter-bomber, the Tomahawk cruise missile and the A-6 Intruder. The programme ends with only the briefest glimpse of the bombing of Baghdad, scenes which by now have become over-familiar.

Ever since Vietnam the American and other governments have been extremely wary of war reporters, and have laid down strict codes of conduct. War reporters in the Gulf had to agree to ground rules enumerating 16 areas of coverage; every aspect of the battlefield required military clearance. Consequently, reports from the Gulf on our television screens gave little impression of the immense destruction and enormous loss of life. The sleeve for *War in the Gulf* proudly asserts that 'Theirs (the reporters) is the story — a story they couldn't always tell at the time, with pictures they couldn't show. It's all here now'. Unfortunately, these videos still convey a sanitised view of the war based on material already seen on our television screens. Little time is spent considering the effects of the 'pool system' or of military censorship, nor to what extent the media was deliberately used by either side as a disseminator of disinformation. It is to be hoped that programmes will one day be released which benefit from both hindsight and from official footage which continue to be withheld from public consumption.

A considerably less serious view of conflict in the Middle East can be found in Menahem Golan's *The Delta Force* (1986), supposedly about the American Special Forces' anti-terrorist squad. The film begins with the abortive attempt to rescue the American hostages held in Tehran in 1980. Five years later, Delta Force is summoned to free American citizens who have become hostages after their flight from Athens is hijacked by Arafat terrorists. The women and children are released in Algeria, but the men are imprisoned in a schoolhouse in Beirut. Colonel Nick Alexander (Lee Marvin) and Major Scott McCoy (Chuck Norris) mastermind an operation to both free the hostages and recapture the airliner. The first part is unexceptional: the hostages exhibit all the traits of disaster movie stereotypes, and the message lacks subtlety. Unfortunately, all pretence at realism is discarded with the raid on the schoolhouse. Chuck Norris exhibits an indestructibility that Rambo would envy: with a characteristic lack of emotion he mows down scores of terrorists with the aid of a motorbike equipped with rocket-launchers. The pyrotechnics and stunt work are proficiently handled, but a far more serious and revealing film deserves to be made on the same subject.

Stephen J. Greenhill

## THE AUCTION SCENE

The past month or two have been a period of mixed fortunes for the auction houses, with some sales proving to be comparative disasters and others doing much better than expected. On the one hand there is the problem of persuading people that now is a good time to sell, and on the other hand there is the difficulty of explaining why prices do not seem to increase as much as might be expected. Much of the trade were saying that Japanese buyers were no longer interested; but at recent sales held in Geneva by Sotheby's the Japanese certainly were buying. A medal sale in Geneva on 16 May was a great success, with only a very small number of lots remaining unsold. Some of the prices for orders and decorations were way above expectations — a Portuguese Military Order of the Tower and Sword of gold, enamel and diamonds, as worn by Dom Louis I, sold for £30,800. One director said that it was easy to sell good material, but the problem was persuading people to offer lots for sale.

For those interested in arms, armour and militaria the big event to look forward to was the second part of the Visser sale, which was held on Monday 3 June at Sotheby's. This sale had previously been delayed because it had been felt that the market had not been ready for material of this quality. Everybody in the trade was wondering what the outcome would be — disaster or triumph. It was, perhaps, a little unfortunate that there was a big sale of arms and armour in New York only a day or two before the Visser sale; this clash may have accounted for the comparatively small number of American dealers present, although they may still have been bidding by telephone or via their agents.

The sale catalogue was an extremely handsome production with the majority of lots illustrated in very fine quality colour. There were 198 lots, with estimates ranging from £200 to £60,000. The variety of material was extensive, ranging from a small collection of military percussion rifles of the early 19th century, through to superb quality pairs of wheellock holster pistols. The entire collection constitutes one of the last of the great private collections in Europe, and was lovingly built up over the past 30 years.

The sale opened with a small miniature armour standing nearly 12in. high, which sold for a hammer price of £1,700 — £100 above the top estimate, and seeming to augur well. The second lot, a cased 18-shot pepperbox percussion revolver, made the top estimate of £3,000, apparently confirming the optimism. Then came a tube-lock Austrian rifle dated 1849; this interesting piece failed to raise a single bid — a rare occurrence indeed at sales of this quality. Miniatures came back into their own later in the sale when three tiny wheellock pistols of the late 16th century and bearing the mark of Michel Mann sold for £7,800, £5,200 and £3,500.

There were a number of combination weapons in the sale and these achieved a mixed response, with some

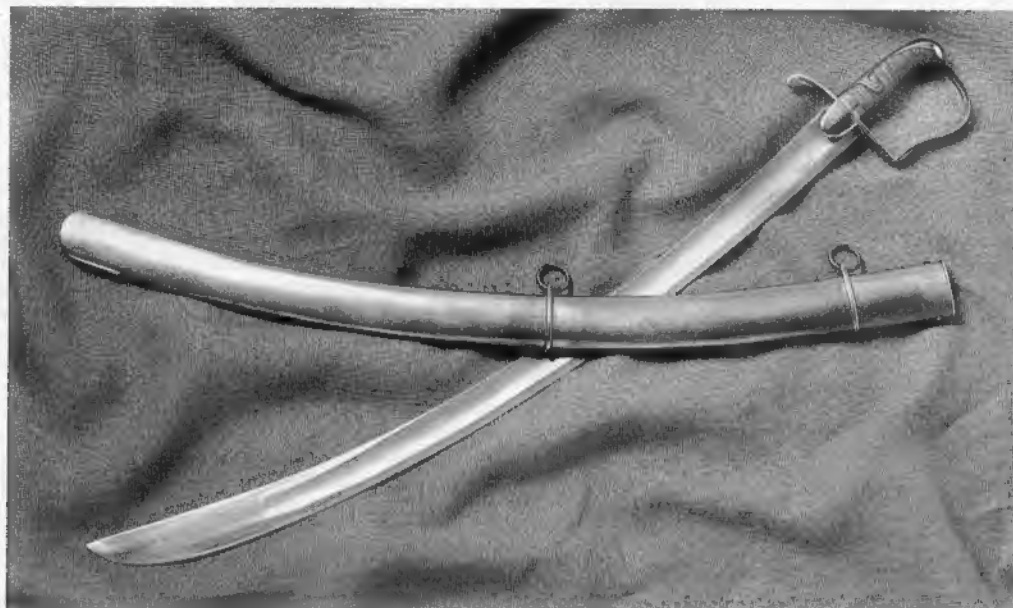
going well above estimate but others just failing to make the low estimate. An Alsatian combined flintlock pistol and sword dated 1651 made £7,000. Edged weapons combined with pinfire revolvers attracted attention, with a French dagger-revolver selling at £2,600, and a Belgian cavalry sword-revolver of c1870 went for £2,200. Few countries adopted combination weapons for their armed forces; but an example of a Norwegian double-barrelled percussion pistol with a blade mounted centrally, as issued to non-commissioned officers, sold with its sheath for £1,400. The pride of the combined weapons was the last lot: a stone bow which also incorporated a wheellock pistol, made in Nuremberg circa 1620. Of top quality, it was not really surprising that it exceeded its top estimate by a considerable amount, realising £58,000 against a top estimate of £45,000.

A four-barrelled ducksfoot flintlock pistol by Goodwin & Co. of London sold for £3,200, well above the top estimate. English percussion revolvers maintained their current rise in popularity, and all in the sale sold well: a cased Tranter 54 bore revolver of c1865 made £2,000; a cased double-trigger Tranter revolver sold for £1,300 and a cased 54 bore Beaumont-Adams for £3,000.

Among the many rare and unusual items offered was a drinking flask with a pewter body fitted with the butt of a wheellock pistol; pushed into a holster it would have appeared to be an ordinary pistol. There are a small number of these pseudo-flasks recorded, and it is fun, if futile, to wonder if they all belonged to the same thirsty and ingenious cavalryman! The powder flasks in the collection, all of top quality, suffered a mixed fate, with some very good prices and others failing to reach low estimates — a fine Saxon musketeer's flask circa 1600 with gilt brass decoration sold for £5,000. One modern piece was an American glove pistol, which consists of a single barrel, calibre .38 Special, mounted on the back of a glove. A protruding spring plunger projects beyond the end of the barrel and if the fist is clenched it extends just beyond the knuckle; if the target is punched the plunger operates to fire a single shot. This rather elaborate concealed weapon was patented in 1947, and this example sold for £1,700.

For the average collector sales such as this one are of largely academic interest for only a fortunate few can hope to acquire pairs of wheellock pistols — or even singles, for that matter. What of the more "popular" sales? It is reported there has been an influx of good-quality material including a collection of Special Forces weapons. There is also a quantity of autographed ephemera of the Third Reich. Incidentally, judging by the last sale there is a growing interest in Nazi bayonets and Army swords. Wallis & Wallis and Weller & Duffy also had sales during June and there was still plenty of interesting material about.

Frederick Wilkinson



A wonderful free prize for our readers: the 1796 British light cavalry sabre.

"MI" are giving away, as First Prize in our readers' competition, a valuable military antique — a fine example of the regulation 1796 British Light Cavalry sabre, with all the lethal, functional beauty of cold steel made for daily use, not for show. The sabre, of the pattern carried by Wellington's Hussar and Light Dragoon officers in the Peninsula, the War of 1812 and the Waterloo campaign, is a plain fighting weapon, with a wicked elegance of line, not a later, gilded, parade piece. It even shows evidence of an old, careful repair to the knuckle-bow — who knows, might it have been damaged in battle?.... This sabre will make a splendid display piece for any

military enthusiast's collection.

There are two Second Prizes: special leather-bound copies of the book *'The Thin Red Line: Uniforms of the British Army between 1751 and 1914'* by D.S.V. & B.K. Fosten. The book includes 30 full colour plates with 185 figures and nearly 800 detail studies, of which *The Times* (London) said: 'The superb detail and reproduction make the plates the finest examples of their kind'.

There are five Third Prizes of free one-year subscriptions to *'Military Illustrated'*.

Cut our or photostat the entry form from each of the three issues; fill in your answers, and your name and address, in BLOCK CAPITALS; and post your entries to: 'Competition', Military Illustrated Ltd., 43 Museum Street, London WC1A 1LY, England'. Entries must arrive not later than 1st November 1991; overseas competitors should use airmail postage. NB: Keep your first two entry forms until the third is published — send all three in together, not separately as they appear.

## How to enter:

In this issue and in the forthcoming September and October issues we are printing three sets of quiz questions; additionally the October entry form will contain a 'tie-break' question. These questions can all be answered correctly by reference to articles published in 'MI' since summer 1986; none require reference to the long out-of-print issues No. 1 and 2; and there are no trick questions — all are straightforward tests of knowledge.

## The rules:

- 1) The competition is open to all readers of 'MI' EXCEPT employees and contributors to the magazine and their immediate relatives.
- 2) Only entries arriving at our offices before 1st November 1991 will be valid.
- 3) In all matters connected with the validity or correctness of entries the Editor's decision will be final.
- 4) The correct answers, and the winners, will be announced in 'MI' No. 44, January 1992.

## The first prize:

is a George III 1796 Pattern Light Cavalry sabre. The plain, single-edged fighting blade is in good bright condition; the wooden grip is bound with copper wire; the steel hilt has the faceted collar, backstrap and pommel indicating an officer's weapon; and the knuckle-bow shows an old, careful repair with an iron insert. The steel scabbard retains faint traces of the engraved cartouche 'Johnston late Bland & Foster' found on many officers' weapons. (Richard Johnston, successor to Bland & Foster at their premises at 68 St. James's St., Pall Mall, London, also succeeded to the honour of Sword Cutler to His Majesty. A gunmaker and beltmaker as well as a sword cutler, Johnston was active from 1798 to 1840; he was Warden of the Cutlers' Company 1819-20, and later Master.)

**ENTRY COUPON (A):** Send with forthcoming coupons (B) and (C) to: 'Competition', Military Illustrated Ltd., 43 Museum St., London WC1A 1LY

- (A1) What term is used for a medieval siege-engine operated by a counterweight and swinging arm, as reconstructed at Fallsters Minder Museum, Denmark, in 1989? .....
- (A2) Whose clothing was looted by souvenir-hunters after his death at the battle of Lützen, November 1632? .....
- (A3) What African country's 'multi-sex' army was defeated by a French expedition in 1892? .....
- (A4) Who played 'Sergeant Major Peasy' in the film 'Revolution'? .....
- (A5) Which London gunmakers produced the double- and four-barrelled pistols used by many British officers in the 1880s and 1890s? .....
- (A6) Who commanded the 1st Polish Independent Parachute Brigade at Arnhem in 1944? .....
- (A7) What was the name and date of the rifle made famous by its use by French infantry in the Franco-Prussian War? .....
- (A8) Who is generally recognised as the first United States pilot to destroy an aircraft in air-to-air combat? .....

## Competitor's details:

Name .....

Address .....

Post Code.....Country.....

**'Apache Wars: An Illustrated Battle History'** by E. Lisle Reedstrom; Cassell; 272pp; 190 b/w illus., 16 col. plates; biblio, index; £14.95

This book published in the USA by Sterling, is by the artist who illustrated the earlier titles on the US Infantry and US Cavalry published in this country by Blandford/Cassell; and the plates, averaging three figures each, are in the rather free, brightly coloured style familiar from those books. About a dozen of the figures are of Apaches, the captions lacking anything but the most general and basic costume description, where they are described at all. The remainder of the colour subjects are US troops, and again, there is very little depth to the uniform captions; the author seems far more interested in firearms, and these are described in some detail. Weapons also figure prominently among the photographs.

#### SS Panzer uniform

I have read with great interest the article by Andrew Steven and Peter Amodio (*MF* No. 37); and would point out a small error which may confuse readers. The photograph of an SS-Rottenführer of SS-Pz-Regt.5 of the 'Wiking' Division is captioned in part: 'The 4mm band of pink braid across the butt of the shoulder strap identifies a volunteer for less than 12 years' service.' This is partially correct; but what is missing from the caption is the fact that he is an NCO candidate.

SS-Sturmann and SS-Rottenführer were not regarded as NCO ranks; ORs holding the rank of SS-Rottenführer and below, if considered good NCO material, were termed SS-Unterführeranwärter. If they had enlisted for 12 years they wore a single strip of NCO braid at the base of the shoulder strap; if for less, a 4mm twisted cotton cord in arm-of-service colour, or aluminium cord.

I also note that the authors describe the black 1940 pattern field cap as worn by Waffen-SS armoured units, but have not included a photograph of an example. I have an authentic example of this item, with the pink Panzer soutache, and if it would be of interest I would be willing to loan the cap for photography.

*Waffen-SS Panzer other ranks' Feldmütze (Schiffchen) neue Art of Nov. 1940; photograph courtesy Christopher Oldfield.*

## REVIEWS

These also offer a selection of early studies of Apache scouts; some soldier portraits of the 1880s; views of forts and landscapes; a rather distressing series of about a dozen photos of Geronimo posing in a wide variety of costumes, which lack both dignity and in most cases any real relevance to Apache appearance off the reservations; and a useful 'bran tub' of photos of items of equipment — biscuit boxes, ammo packages, entrenching tools, heliographs and a telegraph, diagrams of pack saddle arrangement, etc. An appendix quotes extensive specifications for uniforms and equipment of all kinds, down to blankets tents, etc., from a QMG report to the Secretary of War dated October 1884; and nearly 40 pages of the original line drawings and

diagrams from (presumably) this report. Modellers and artists will find these useful; they include not only clothing, but details of such arcana as barrack chairs, bedding, camp tools, cooking pots, brooms, etc.

It is as a loose collection of source material, some of it valuable, that this book will probably be judged by *MF* readers. The text is episodic and seems to this reviewer to lack any central plan or organisation. Anecdotal accounts of minor events are recounted at great length, but the reviewer looked in vain for any unified general history of the Apache wars — the book's subtitle is seriously misleading in this respect: e.g. the chapter on 'The Indian Wars in Arizona' is only seven pages long. After mentioning that the record

shows 97 battles between 1871 and 1875, and that a certain area was being used as a supply base by the Arivipa Apache 'early in 1872', the chapter contains not one other date, and not a single identification of a specific US unit; it consists of a few anecdotes, which are thus impossible to place in any real historical context. The chapter on 'The Frontier Army' has an interesting section on the black regiments, and some general comments on army life, but lacks any indication of which other units were deployed, where, when, or to what effect.

The 'bran tub' contains some genuinely valuable information on such subjects as communications, medical procedures, pack trains, etc., and is always strong on firearms; but it is far from being a 'history', and tells us very little of the wars, the regiments, or — most obviously — the Apache themselves, since it is written from a noticeably Eurocentric standpoint. **JS**

## LETTERS

Finally, may I congratulate you on an excellent publication? Although my field of interest is very specialised, I have found something which attracted me in every issue. I particularly like Messrs. Steven and Amodio's approach to the subject. They obviously take great pleasure in their collections and in sharing their discoveries with others.

C.J.H. Oldfield  
Herts WD2 3TE

#### Battle Jerkins

I was delighted to see you reinstate your letters column; *MF* is of such a high standard that it will be quoted as a reference for years to come, so it is a shame when small errors creep in. Regarding your article on the Battle Jerkin (No. 32, January 1991, p.35): The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada did not serve in the 7th Bde., 3rd Canadian Division, but in the 8th Bde.; the 7th comprised the Winnipeg Rifles, Regina Rifle Regt., and 1st Bn. Canadian Scottish. The Queen's Own has tried the jerkins, but decided against them for the D-Day assault. I know that the Regina Rifles did wear assault jackets on D-Day, since I came ashore as a first line reinforcement for the Queen's Own on the Regina's beach (Juno Mike Green), and while going up the beach stumbled over

an assault jerkin bearing the name of CSM Yeo, whom I later learned had been killed on the beach. I note from official war photos that another regiment in 8th Bde. — the Regt. de la Chaudière — also wore conventional webbing rather than battle jerkins on D-Day.

Maj. J.H. MacKendrick (Retd.)  
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Deep Cove  
RR.1, Sidney, BC  
Canada V8L 3R9

#### Weapons at Culloden

I am inclined to disagree with the conclusions drawn by Stuart Reid regarding weaponry in his fine article on the Jacobite Army at Culloden, *MF* No. 36, May 1991. The fact that more firelocks than swords were recovered from the battlefield is, I believe, more an indication of the nature of the fighting than of the proportion of swords to firelocks carried by the Jacobites. In *Battles of the '45* (Batsford 1962), the authors K. Tomasson and F. Buist provide a number of contemporary descriptions of the fighting.

Colonel MacGillivray of Dunmaglass gave strict orders to the men of the Clan Chattan that they should hold their fire 'until they could do certain execution' and that 'they must on no account fling away their muskets'; but 'their eagerness to come up with the enemy that had so much advantage of them at a distance, made them run on with the utmost violence, but in such confusion, that they could make no use of their firearms' and many 'threw them down without exploding them.'

Edward Lunn gives a somewhat contradictory description of the Jacobite charge: 'They came up very boldly and fast all in a cloud together, sword in hand. They fired their pieces and flung them away.'

Lord George Murray reported, somewhat enigmatically: 'Their costume has always been when they do

attack, to run upon the Enemy with the utmost speed so as only to receive one fire or at most two before they mixt. In the present case they were quite in disorder & received several fires before they could come up with the Enemy who stood upon their first ground, and the Highlanders lost the benefit of their own fire, for only a few who run in quickest actually fired upon the Enemy. By far the greater Number, who followed as fast as they were able, could not fire as some of their own men were betwixt them and the Enemy. This was a vast loss for the fire of Highlanders is more bloody than that of any regular troops whatever'.

It seems likely that many of the firelocks discarded during the battle were those thrown down during the charge by men who could not fire them because of the confused press; or who, having fired, flung them away deliberately as an encumbrance in their eagerness to close with the sword, a well-documented characteristic of the Highlanders' style of fighting. It was, after all, apocryphal though it may seem, the speed of the Highlanders' charge and the terrifying violence of their swords that was the cause of so much anxiety in the Royal army during the campaign. As the Highlanders fell back from their unsuccessful attack I believe the majority would probably have retained their swords and that this is a more likely explanation of why so few were recovered from the battlefield. Having flung away firearms they would be unlikely to discard their swords as well, whether retiring in some form of order or in full flight.

That efforts may have been made to discourage the Highlanders from discarding their firearms in the charge and to persuade them to fight more in the manner of regular troops is suggested both by the above descriptions and the mention of 'drilling' in Stuart Reid's article. Indeed, this may have been a point of disagreement in the Jacobite army, between those officers with European military experience and those of pure 'Highland' experience.

N.J.I. Millman  
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Suffolk IP30 9PY





# The Irish Divisions in the Great War(1): The 36th (Ulster) Division

Written and illustrated by MICHAEL CHAPPELL

For a country with a small population the response of Ireland to the British call to arms from 1914 to 1918 was prodigious. Half a million are reckoned to have served, of which 50,000 lost their lives. Irishmen served with the Royal Navy and the British flying services, and were to be found in most of the Regiments and Corps of the British Army; but three divisions of Britain's New Armies, 'Kitchener's men', were raised exclusively in Ireland — the 10th (Irish), the 16th (Irish) and the 36th (Ulster). It is the history of the latter that will be examined in this article.

At the risk of understatement it may be said that the history of Ireland has been turbulent. This was especially so in the year 1914, when the country seemed to be on the brink of civil war. The question of Home Rule had split opinion, and all over Ireland preparations were being made to take up arms for or against the issue. In the north of the country, under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson, 80,000 men joined the Ulster Volunteers, a para-military organisation described as 'a legion of civilians banded together to protect themselves from the consequences of legislation which they believed would adversely affect their rights and privileges as citizens of the UK'. Formed in 1913, the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) rapidly became a highly organised army which openly drilled and trained, to the embarrassment and consternation of the British Government.

Following the outbreak of war in August 1914 Lord Kitchener (the 'Kerry-born Englishman' and Secretary of State for War) set out to raise his New Armies with a keen eye in the direction of the UVF. With the 10th and 16th Divisions forming in Ireland and numbers of men slipping away from the Ulster Volunteers to get into the fight with Germany, Kitchener negotiated with Sir Edward Carson and other

political leaders of the anti-Home Rule faction an unconditional offer of help in the raising of an Ulster formation. With political considerations out of the way an order for the formation of what was to be the 36th (Ulster) Division was issued on 28 October 1914, the task of raising a division 'from scratch' being made much easier by drawing on the existing structure of the UVF. The 1st Brigade formed in Belfast; the 2nd Brigade came from South and Central Antrim, Down and County Armagh; the 3rd Brigade from Tyrone, Derry and Donegal and Fermanagh, with its fourth battalion raised from the Young Citizen Volunteers of Belfast. The remaining service and support units were raised from the UVF, but the artillery of the division was raised in England. On its formation the order of battle of the division was as at Table A. (Infantry Brigades were numbered 107th, 108th and 109th on 2 November 1914.)

In common with other New Army formations raised by local authorities, subsidiary titles were permitted the units of the division. Common also in 1914 were shortages of weapons, clothing and equipment; 10,000 'complete outfits' to uniform the men were supplied privately, and the first rifles were issued in mid-November — 180 obsolete



*Ulster Volunteers of 1913 pose for the camera, with dummy cannon and rifles, and only caps for uniforms. (Somme Association)*

weapons for each battalion. Training progressed in Ulster until July 1915, when the division moved to England to join up with its artillery and complete its preparation for war. On 26 September 1915 the 36th (Ulster) Division was reviewed on Hankley Common, Bordon, by King George V, and shortly afterwards began to cross to France and the Western Front.

## THE SOMME, 1 JULY 1916

By the summer of 1916 the division had undergone a thorough introduction to trench warfare; had drawn together all of its units (some of which had been detached or were late to join the division); and was prepared to play its part in the 'Big Push', the Anglo/French assault on the German positions astride the River Somme in

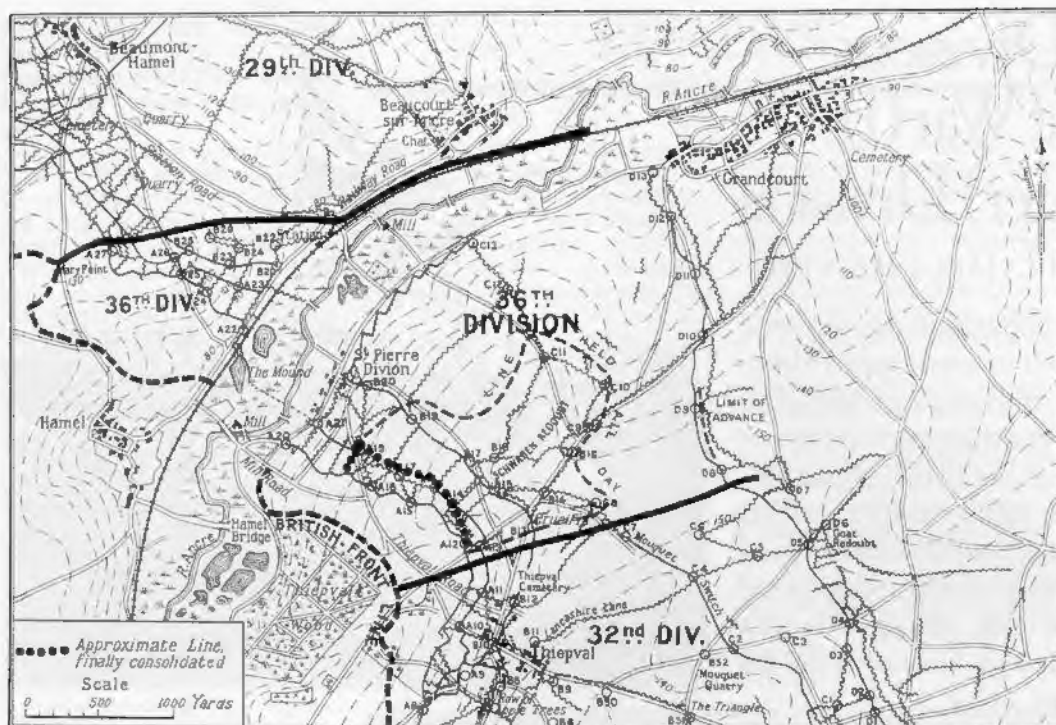
Picardy. One of the 17 British divisions committed to the assault, its mission was to attack along both banks of the River Ancre, supporting the division on its left and assaulting the German stronghold of the Schwaben Redoubt on the right. Infantry of the division were to follow a series of artillery barrages as they lifted on to the next objective.

The date set for the launch of the offensive had been 29 June, but this was put back to 1 July — an auspicious day for the Ulstermen (the anniversary, according to the Julian calen-

*By 1914 the UVF had acquired arms and equipment which included the Colt machine gun and Martini carbines seen here. (Somme Association)*







dar, of the Battle of the Boyne and the victory of William of Orange in 1690). The time for the infantry to leave their trenches was set at 7.30 a.m., and instructions were issued forbidding commanding officers to accompany their battalions in the attack. But some units (not only in the 36th Division) ignored these orders, and crept forward before Zero Hour to within 100 yards of the enemy trenches under the

cover of the noise and smoke of the artillery bombardment. These were the units which mostly overran the German positions when the artillery lifted and remained well handled when the infantry fight began. Those who followed orders generally lost the race that followed the barrage lift, and were shot down either leaving their trenches or on the German wire. Unfortunately, this occurred to the divisions

on the flanks of the units of the 36th which, once they had fought their way forward, found themselves under fire not only from their front but also from their unsecured flanks.

North of the Ancre battalions of the 108th Brigade had mixed fortunes. On the right the 9th Royal Irish Fusiliers were seen to gain the enemy front line, from which small groups pushed onwards to

Beaucourt station. On the left, however, the 12th Royal Irish Rifles were held up by uncut wire, lost the barrage, and were beaten back time and time again. A German counter-attack restored their front line and, despite great dash and gallantry, all was lost north of the river.

South of the Ancre the leading waves of the 108th and 109th Brigades (11th and 13th Royal Irish Rifles, 9th and 10th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers) swept across the German front line before the enemy could react; but the following companies and the supporting battalions came under German artillery fire and enfilade machine gun fire from the unsecured flank at Thiepval. 'The 11th Inniskillings and 14th Rifles, as they emerged from the (Thiepval) wood were literally mown down — the 13th Rifles, under long-range fire from the Beaucourt Redoubt across the river, suffered at this stage most heavily of all.'

Under this deadly fire there was no hesitation. The assault was pressed home and the first two lines of German trenches taken with large numbers of German infantry surrendering (the second, 'B', at the exact time planned — 7.48 a.m.). The 15th Royal Irish Rifles, supporting 108th Brigade, had to deal with enemy emerging from dugouts bypassed by the assault wave. 'Mopping up' was

**TABLE A**  
**The 36th (Ulster) Division on formation in Ireland**

**General Officer Commanding:**  
Major-General C.H. Powell

**1st Service Sq., 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons**  
36th Divisional Cyclist Company

**107th Infantry Brigade:**  
8th (Service) Bn., Royal Irish Rifles (East Belfast Volunteers)  
9th (Service) Bn., Royal Irish Rifles (West Belfast Volunteers)  
10th (Service) Bn., Royal Irish Rifles (South Belfast Volunteers)  
15th (Service) Bn., Royal Irish Rifles (North Belfast Volunteers)

**108th Infantry Brigade:**  
11th (Service) Bn., Royal Irish Rifles (South Antrim Volunteers)  
12th (Service) Bn., Royal Irish Rifles (Central Antrim Volunteers)  
13th (Service) Bn., Royal Irish Rifles (1st County Down Volunteers)  
9th (Service) Bn., Royal Irish Fusiliers (Armagh, Monaghan and Cavan Volunteers)

**109th Infantry Brigade:**  
9th (Service) Bn., Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (Tyrone Volunteers)  
10th (Service) Bn., Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (Derry Volunteers)  
11th (Service) Bn., Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (Donegal and Fermanagh Volunteers)  
14th (Service) Bn., Royal Irish Rifles (Young Citizen Volunteers of Belfast)  
16th (Service) Bn., Royal Irish Rifles (2nd County Down Volunteers) (Pioneers)

**Royal Field Artillery Brigades:**  
CLIII (153rd) (Empire)  
CLIV (154th) (Empire)  
CLXXII (172nd) (West Ham)  
CLXXIII (173rd) (East Ham)  
36th Divisional Ammunition Column (West Ham)

**Royal Engineers:**  
121st Field Company  
122nd Field Company  
150th Field Company  
36th Divisional Signal Company

**Royal Army Medical Corps:**  
108th Field Ambulance  
109th Field Ambulance  
110th Field Ambulance

**Army Service Corps:**  
36th Divisional Train

**Reserve units:**  
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th (Reserve) Bn., Royal Irish Rifles  
12th (Reserve) Bn., Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers  
10th (Reserve) Bn., Royal Irish Fusiliers

By mid-1916 the service squadron and the cyclist company had left the division; a machine gun company and a light trench mortar battery had been formed in each infantry brigade (taking the number of the brigade); three medium and one heavy trench mortar batteries were added to the divisional artillery; and a mobile veterinary section had joined. Divisional strength, just over 18,500 all ranks on formation, had by then risen to nearly 19,400.

#### **Right:**

*Battle of the Somme — attack by the Ulster Division, 1 July 1916: by James Prinsep Beadle. This painting, the original of which hangs in Belfast City Hall, is considered to be a realistic representation, devoid of sensationalism and capturing the atmosphere of the battle. It shows men of the 11th Royal Irish Rifles, the right forward unit of the 108th Infantry Brigade, leaving the A' line of trenches and pressing on to the 'B' line. They are preceded by 'bombers', and one man can be seen carrying a marker in the form of the battalion sign. In the centre of the picture is a private of the 15th Royal Irish Rifles, distinguished by his red triangular flash. Note the canvas buckets in which the 'bombers' are carrying their grenades, and the picks and shovels carried by most men. At centre right the young officer with his arm raised is Francis Thornley, who was wounded in the battle and advised the artist whilst recovering from his wounds. (Belfast City Hall)*



## Captions to colour plates overleaf:

### Plate A:

The first 'uniforms' worn by the UVF consisted of a military-style greatcoat and obsolete equipment as worn in 1914 by **Figure 1**. (His weapon is a Martini-Henry artillery sword bayonet.) **Figure 2** depicts the dress of the 36th (Ulster) Division at the time of the move to England in 1915. A private of the 14th Royal Irish Rifles (Young Citizen Volunteers), he is clothed and equipped in one of the 10,000 'complete outfits' supplied privately to the Division. These included service dress from Moss Bros., a form of modified handolier equipment and rucksacks bought in Belfast. His weapon is the obsolete Lee-Enfield — probably 'DP', Drill Purpose, and incapable of being fired. Note his white metal YCV badges, white kitbag and haversack, and the unit 'flash' of his battalion.

**Figure 3** represents a private of the 9th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers on the morning of 1 July 1916. Lt. Col. Ambrose Ricardo, CO of the 9th Inniskillings, wrote of the occasion: 'Here and there a boy would wave — as I shouted "God Luck" — many were carrying heavy loads. Fancy advancing against heavy fire carrying a load of barbed wire on your shoulders!' Unit orders detailed the load carried by all as 'Haversacks will be worn on the back — waterproof sheet and cardigan inside will be rolled on the back of the belt — every man of the 2nd and 3rd platoons will carry a pick or shovel — in the haversack will be shaving and washing kit, 1 pair socks, iron ration and rations for (the) day — two bombs (No. 5 Mills) in jacket pockets — two sandbags tucked into belt — wire cutters will be carried by the leading platoons of each company. Each man with a wirecutter will have a white tape tied around his left shoulder strap — 170 rounds small arms ammunition will be carried.' (Some carried 220 rounds.) Not mentioned were two gas helmets, gas goggles, field

dressing, iodine, identity discs and paybook, messin, entrenching tool, jack-knife, spoon, etc. The rear view of the basic load is demonstrated by **Figure 3**. Note his unit 'flash'; and Mk1 Lee-Enfield rifle with first-pattern 1907 bayonet — it would appear from photographs that many of these obsolete weapons were supplied to the 36th Division. Runners were distinguished by red armbands, and each leading company was ordered to carry five flags or markers to indicate their position. Several units appear to have worn devices on their helmets, the purpose of which is at present unclear.

Two of the Victoria Cross winners of 1 July 1916 are represented by **Figures 4 and 5**. Capt. Eric Norman Frankland Bell, 9th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (4) was commanding a Light Trench Mortar Battery which accompanied the assault. Time and again, when the advance was held up, Capt. Bell went forward alone to deal with a machine gun and to hurl mortar bombs at the enemy. He was killed whilst rallying parties of infantry who had lost their officers. Private Robert Quigg of the 12th Royal Irish Rifles (5) made seven expeditions into No-Man's-Land, bringing back a wounded man each time.

The scheme of unit 'battle patches' or 'flashes' adopted by the Division in 1915 was worn on both sleeves immediately below the shoulder seam. Those shown are representations of surviving examples in collections; colours are noted to avoid confusion, particularly between the darker shades: (6) 8th Royal Irish Rifles (dark blue); (7) 9th RIR (orange); (8) 10th RIR (orange & purple); (9) 15th RIR (red); (10) 8th/9th RIR (dk. blue/orange); (11) 1st RIR (rifle green/black); (12) 2nd RIF (green); (13) 107th MG Coy. (red/blue); (14) 107th Lt. Trench Mortar Bty. (yellow & dk. blue); (15) 121st Fd. Coy. RE (red & blue); (16) 110th Fd. Amb. RAMC (red & black);

(17) 9th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (yellow); (18) 10th RIF (yellow/dk. blue); (19) 11th RIF (dk. blue); (20) 14th RIR ('French grey'); (21) 1st RIF (black); (22) 16th RIR — Pioneers (red & green); (23) 36th Div. Train. ASC (red, white & dk. blue); (24) 48th Mobile Vet. Section (red, dk. blue, maroon).

The 'Dixie-lid' cap badge at (25) was worn in the Division until regimental and corps badges became available. The cap badge and shoulder-title of the 14th Royal Irish Rifles (Young Citizen Volunteers) were as at (26), made in gilding medal after August 1914. The divisional sign was painted on transport as at (27). The cap badge and shoulder-title of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers are as at (28) and (29) respectively.

### Plate B

The clothing and equipment worn by the infantry of the Division on 1 July 1916 has already been described. **Figure 1** depicts a private 'wirecutter' of the 9th Royal Irish Fusiliers on that day. Note the unit 'flash' of a red semi-circle, the white tape mark of a 'wirecutter', the hand and rifle wirecutting tools, gas helmets, bandoliers and sandbags. The fashion of cutting down trousers to 'shorts' was permitted in the 36th Division, although — apparently — left to personal preference. By the closing months of 1918 many regular battalions had been posted in to the Division, including the 1st Royal Irish Rifles, a corporal of which is depicted as **Figure 2**. Note the black buttons and leather of a rifle regiment, the unit 'flash' in the Divisional scheme, the chevrons worn by some rifle regiment NCOs, the Lewis Gunner's badge, overseas service stripes for 'out since '14', three gold wound stripes, and ribbons for the Military Medal and 1914 Star. On the corporal's right arm is the red-and-white miniature of the 8th Divisional sign, awarded to individuals as a 'battle badge'. (The 1st Royal Irish Rifles served in the 8th Division before joining the 36th.)

**Figures 3 and 4** show the two other 1 July 1916 Victoria Cross winners of the Division. Lt. Geoffrey St. George Shillington Cather, 9th Royal Irish Fusiliers (3) 'set a splendid example of courage and self-sacrifice' by rescuing wounded men from the battlefield whilst under the enemy fire which eventually killed him. Pte. William Frederick M'Fadzean, 14th Royal Irish Rifles (4) won his cross when he threw himself on top of two grenades which had accidentally fused in a crowded trench. 'Billy' was killed when they exploded, but his action saved the lives of his comrades.

The continuing sequence of patches shows: (5) 11th RIR (orange); (6) 12th RIR (lt. blue); (7) 13th RIR (rifle green); (8) 9th RIF (red); (9) 11th/13th RIR (orange/rifle green); (10) 1st RIF (green); (11) 108th MG Coy. (red/blue); (12) 108th Lt. Trench Mortar Bty. (yellow & dk. blue); (13) 122nd Fd. Coy. RE (red & blue); (14) 108th Fd. Amb. RAMC (red & black); (15) 153rd Brigade, RFA (red & black); (16) C Bty., 173rd Bde., RFA (red & black); (17) 233rd Div. Employment Coy. (red, yellow & black); (18) 109th Fd. Amb. RAMC (red & black); (19) 150th Fd. Coy. RE (red & blue); (20) 109th Lt. Trench Mortar Bty. (yellow & dk. blue); (21) 109th MG Coy. (red & blue); (22) 2nd RIF (red); (23) 36th Div. Ammunition Column (red & black); (24) X Medium Trench Mortar Bty. (red & black); (25) 36th Div. Signal Coy. RE (red, lt. blue, white); (26) D Coy., 36th Bn. Machine Gun Corps (red & black).

(27) Divisional sign on Brigade brassard. (28) Officer's cap badge and boss, shoulder title, Royal Irish Rifles. (29) 'Battle badge', 16th (Irish) Div., worn by personnel of 7th RIR posted to the 36th Div. (30) Cap badge, Royal Irish Fusiliers; and (31), shoulder title.



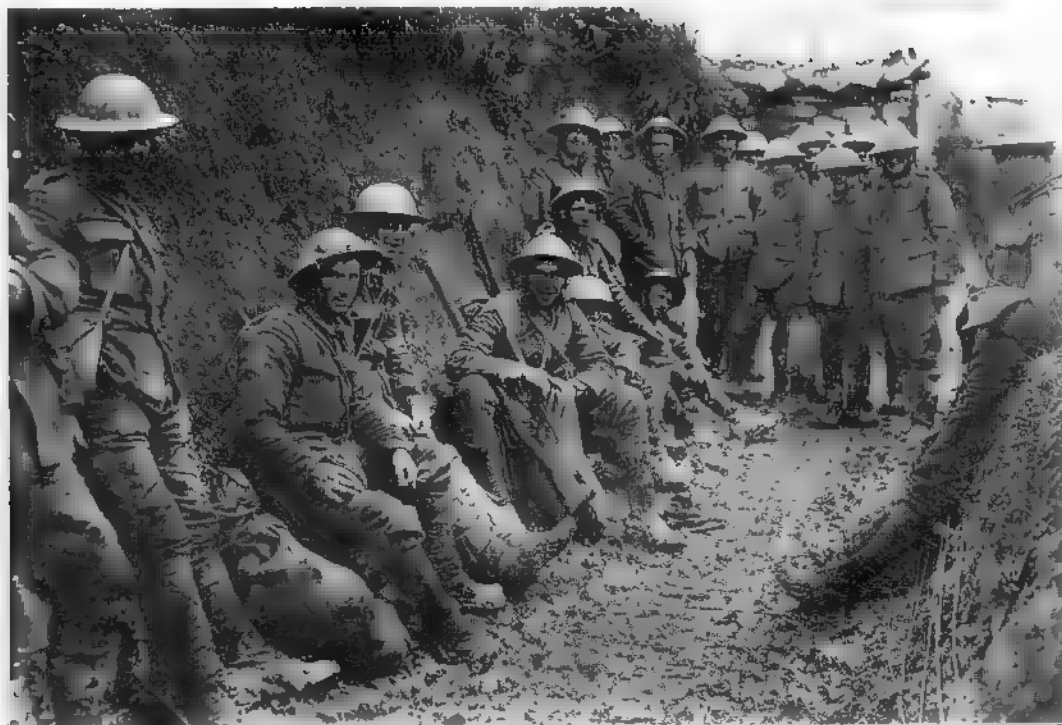












Probably one of the best-known photographs of the Great War shows a 'ration party' of what is thought to be one of the Royal Irish Rifles' battalions of the 36th Division, the Somme, summer of 1916. No divisional insignia are visible, casting some doubt as to whether these are 36th Division personnel, however, families have positively identified individuals in the photograph as men who served with units of the Division (IWM).

forced to retire by repeated German counter-attacks. By mid-day German pressure increased, as their infantry bombed up the trenches from St Pierre Divion and kept up a withering machine gun fire from Thiepval.

Attempts by 146th Brigade (49th Division) to attack Thiepval under a barrage and to reinforce the men of the 36th (Ulster) Division in the Schwaben Redoubt failed during the afternoon. With ammunition running low the situation worsened. The 'C' line was lost; and a German counter-attack at dusk, launched by fresh troops brought up to Grandcourt by train, drove the survivors of the Ulster Division's assault from the 'B' line. 'That which had been won at a sacrifice so vast, had been lost for lack of support.'

At dawn on 2 July observers saw what remained of the division's infantry still clinging to the first two lines of German trenches. A scratch force of 400 men of the 107th Brigade, two guns of the 107th MG Company and — later — parties of the 16th Royal Irish Rifles (Pioneers) went forward to reinforce them, taking many casualties as they crossed No-Man's-Land. It was in this situation that the 49th Division relieved the 36th on the night of 2/3 July. In two days' fighting the 36th had sustained casualties of 5,500 all ranks killed, wounded and missing. The division was one of the few which managed to seize their objectives, attacking with dash, courage and determination, and winning four Victoria Crosses among a host of other gallantry awards. But the cost plunged northern Ireland into mourning, and deprived the infantry of the division of some of the bravest and the best. The 36th (Ulster) Division would go on to fight other battles after



done with bomb and bayonet as the leading waves pressed on, never losing the barrage, to capture the 'C' line and enter the Schwaben Redoubt at 8.48 a.m. Flanking fire from machine guns was by now causing casualties in the trenches and making movement outside them all but impossible; but the assault battalions, or what remained of them, were on their objectives.

Now came the turn of three battalions of the 107th Brigade (8th, 9th and 10th Royal Irish Rifles) to pass through the ground thus far gained and capture the 'D' line, the final divisional objective. Having witnessed the devastation wrought on the supporting waves of the initial assault, the men of the Belfast Brigade went forward on a 'last wild and desperate venture across a thousand yards of open country'. Amazingly, those who survived actually took the objective, only to be

Lt Col Gordon Miller Forde, DSC, MC and bar, 11th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, commanding 9th Royal Irish Fusiliers described by a brother officer as 'one of the grandest and most popular officers of the old Ulster Division, and that means a lot'. Col Forde compiled an album of photographs and accounts of life at the front which is now held at the Museum of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. Another Inniskilling officer of the Division, Lt. Col. R.S. Knox, won the Distinguished Service Order no less than four times — a remarkable achievement. (Museum of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers)



the first day of the Somme, adding to the reputation gained in its first major battle; but the continuing drain of casualties was to dilute the numbers, if not the spirit, of the Ulster Volunteers, so that by the end of the war the division would be a very different formation from that which had marched down to the Somme. The achievement and the sacrifice of the division on 1 July 1916 is still honoured in Ulster — its later history, less so.

### 1917: MESSINES, LANGEMARCK AND CAMBRAI

After absorbing reinforcements the division went back into the line in the Messines area, a sector described as 'quiet' whilst the attention of the Germans remained focussed on the continuing British offensive in Picardy. On 7 June 1917 the 36th (Ulster) Division, in concert with eight others, went 'over the bags' in a well-planned and well-executed attack that carried its aim: the capture of the Messines — Wytshaete Ridge. In this operation the 36th fought alongside the 16th (Irish) Division, the subject of a future article. The four-day fight for the Messines feature cost the 36th (Ulster) Division just over 1,100 casualties.

On 31 July 1917 began the series of battles known to historians as Third Ypres, and to the rest of the world by the name of the village reached in November at the conclusion of

*(Cambrai, 1917: Lock No. 6 on the Canal du Nord. The divisional history claims that 'booty' was captured at this spot. Col. Forde describes it thus: 'our sentry over German canteen and stores refitted battalion with Fritz's boots, shirts and inside clothing' (Museum of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers)*

the offensive — Passchendaele. In August the 36th (Ulster) Division was committed to the battle, by now being waged in a quagmire of shell-churned mud. Operating once more alongside the 16th (Irish) Division, infantry battalions were reduced by casualties before the attack on the Zonnebeke Spur (later to be known as the Battle of Langemarck) was launched on the morning of the 16th. Heavy German shelling of the assembly trenches further reduced assault company strengths, so that only about one third of the men who should have gone forward advanced with the barrage at Zero Hour. Within minutes German machine gun fire had reduced these to numbers that 'looked more like a big raiding party than anything else'. Despite great gallantry the attack failed. Having sustained nearly 3,500 casualties, the 36th (Ulster) Division was relieved from the Ypres Salient and ordered south.

Badly under strength, the division was at this time reinforced by three regular battalions: the 1st and 2nd Royal Irish Rifles and the 1st Royal Irish

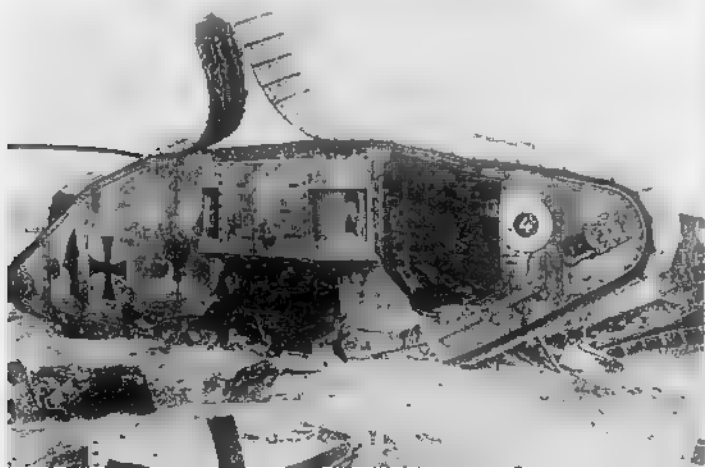
#### Right:

*May Gen. Sir Oliver Nugent, KC.B. DSO, General Officer Commanding the 36th (Ulster) Division from 14 September 1915 until handing over to Gen. Coffin in May 1918. As long as the 36th Division is remembered, General Nugent's name will be associated with it. His whole existence was centred upon it, he was intensely proud of its achievements and jealous for its good name' (Prince Consort's Library)*

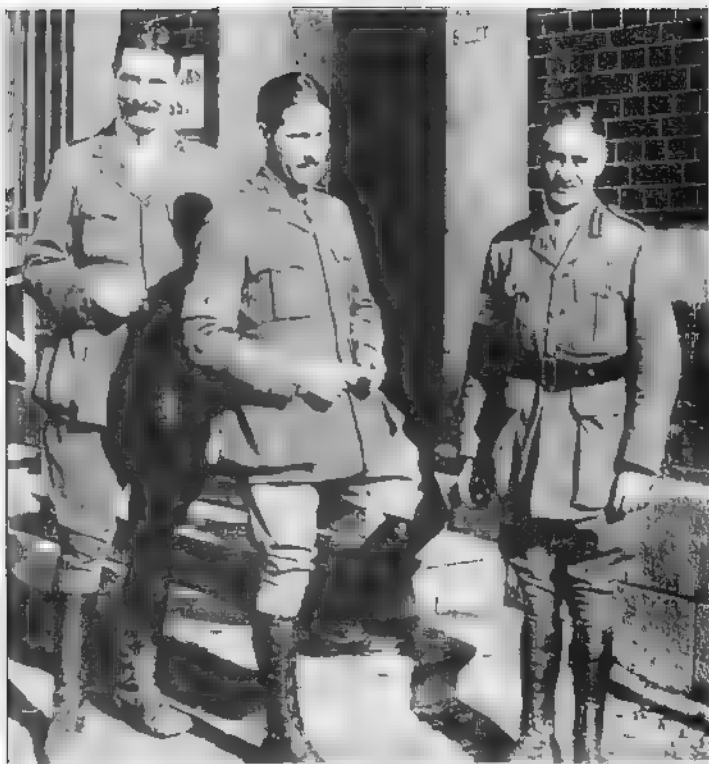


#### Below:

*Cambrai, 1917: a photograph from Lt. Col. Forde's album beneath which he wrote 'British tank captured by Boche, retaken by us in the course of his counter attack at Couzeaucourt'. The vehicle is a Mark IV 'Female' — a tank armed with machine guns only. (Museum of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers)*







Brig. Gen. W.M. Withycombe CMG, DSO (right) with two of his staff officers: Metz-en-Couture, 17 October 1917. Note the blue Brigade armbands worn by Gen Withycombe and his Staff Captain, on which Red Hand of Ulster devices are visible. Gen. Withycombe commanded the 10th Infantry Brigade, the Belfast Brigade from October 1915 to April 1918 with a break of three months in early 1917. (IWM)

Fusiliers. Other reinforcements included 300 men of the North Irish Horse who went to the 9th Royal Irish Fusiliers, whilst amalgamations formed the 8/9th and the 11/13th Royal Irish Rifles.

On the morning of 20 November 1917 the 36th (Ulster) Division once again went forward as one of six divisions, supported by 380 tanks, in the Battle of Cambrai. There had been no preliminary artillery bombardment, surprise was total, and the Hindenburg Line was quickly breached. In the main sector the 36th — without tank support — advanced 4,000 yards, crossing the Canal du Nord and entering the main Hindenburg Line. The formations accompanied by the tanks penetrated even further but, when the tanks became 'used up' and cavalry proved too vulnerable to exploit the breakthrough, the operation was spent. A German counter-offensive was launched on the 30th, pushing the British back to their original positions in some places and recapturing much of the ground that had been yielded. The 36th (Ulster) Division, having been relieved on 25 November, was recalled to restore part of the line before being finally relieved on 14th December.

#### 1918

By early 1918 manning problems in the British Army were acute, particularly the replacement of infantry 'wastage'. Conscription was in force (although not in Ireland), but the supply of manpower to the Western Front was being limit-

ed by a British Government which had diminishing confidence in the policy of attrition. In this atmosphere available infantry was 'spread thin'. Battalions within divisions were reduced from 12 to nine (see Table B for the reorganisation of the 36th Division); and some areas of the front were precariously thinly held. In March 1918 the men of the 36th (Ulster) Division found themselves in such a sector at the southern end of the British line.

When the German Army launched its massive offensive on 21 March 1918, the blow fell on the vulnerable British southern sector, where 67 German divisions with over 6,500 pieces of artillery fell upon 30 British divisions with 2,685 guns. The collapse of the Eastern Front had enabled the Germans to mass a superior force in the West, and they were now using their advantage to the full. In a retreat marked by the determination of many units to fight to the last, the British were forced back across the old battlefields of the Somme until the onslaught was contained and finally held. Later attempts made by the enemy further north were also contained until, by the early summer, the German offensive was spent. Casualties were enormous: the 36th (Ulster) Division lost 7,252 men between 21 March and the end of the month. Their places were taken by the troops who had, up until now, been withheld: 'boys of nineteen, with far from adequate training'

After taking part in the defence of Messines-Kemmel the 36th (Ulster) Division found itself once more on the offensive, taking part from 22 August in the operations resulting in the capture of Bailleul and Neuve Eglise before moving on to the former battlefield of Third Ypres to take locations such as Vlamertinghe and Hill 41. By mid-October the division was at the gates of Courtrai, 'facing a demoralised German Army that was a shadow of its former self'. But the 36th was also weary, having suffered over 3,000 casualties since the beginning of the advance



1918: two Sappers of 150th Field Company, Royal Engineers, photographed off-duty in France. Note the Military Medal of the seated man and the Red Hand of Ulster device on mid-blue patches — at the tops of their sleeves. (Author's collection)





2nd Lt. Cecil Leonard Knox, 150th Field Company Royal Engineers, 36th (Ulster) Division receives the Victoria Cross from his King in the field, 6 August 1918, Ozeclaire, near Cassel Hill. Knox won his VC on 22 March 1918 when he was entrusted with the destruction of bridges that lay in the path of the advancing Germans. In the case of a steel-girder bridge the time fuse failed. Lt. Knox ran to the bridge under heavy machine gun and rifle fire, and whilst the enemy were actually on the bridge he tore away the time fuse and lit the instantaneous fuse — to do which he had to climb under the bridge (IWM).

On 27 October, with battalions each down to about 250 bayonets, the 108th and 109th Brigades were relieved. The 107th Brigade prepared to fight on but were never recalled to the line. The last shots of the 36th (Ulster) Division in the Great War of 1914-18 were fired by the divisional artillery and the light trench mortar batteries in support of another division.

After the cease fire of 11 November 1918 the division spent the winter astride the Franco-Belgian border, with demobilisation beginning in January 1919. From this time the 36th (Ulster) Division 'faded away' as units were reduced first to cadres, then equipment guards, and ultimately disbanded. On 29 June 1919 the division ceased officially to exist.

The actions in which the 36th (Ulster) Division fought (according to the 'Battles Nomenclature Committee') are:

1916. THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME, 1 and 2 July... Battle of Albert.

1917. 7-9 June... Battle of Messines. 7 June... Capture of Wytschaete. BATTLE OF YPRES, 16 and 17 August... Battle of Langemarck. BATTLE OF CAMBRAI 20 and 21 November... The Tank Attack. 23-27

**TABLE B**  
**The 36th (Ulster) Division at the time of the Armistice**

*General Officer Commanding*  
Major-General C.C. Coffin, VC,  
CB DSO

*107th Infantry Brigade*  
1st Royal Irish Rifles  
2nd Royal Irish Rifles  
15th Royal Irish Rifles  
107th Light Trench Mortar Battery

*108th Infantry Brigade*  
12th Royal Irish Rifles  
1st Royal Irish Fusiliers  
9th (North Irish Horse), Royal  
Irish Fusiliers  
108th Light Trench Mortar Battery

*109th Infantry Brigade*  
1st Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers  
2nd Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers  
9th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers

16th Royal Irish Rifles (Pioneers)  
No. 36 Battalion, Machine Gun  
Corps

*Royal Field Artillery Brigades.*  
CLIII (153rd)  
CLXXIII (173rd)  
X36 Medium Trench Mortar Battery  
Y36 Medium Trench Mortar Battery  
(both Royal Garrison Artillery)  
36th Divisional Ammunition  
Column

*Royal Engineers*  
121st Field Company  
122nd Field Company  
150th Field Company  
36th Divisional Signal Company

*Royal Army Medical Corps*  
108th Field Ambulance  
109th Field Ambulance  
110th Field Ambulance

*Army Service Corps*  
36th Divisional Train

*Miscellaneous units*  
48th Mobile Veterinary Section  
233rd Divisional Employment  
Company

The 8/9th, 10th, 11/13th and 14th Royal Irish Rifles, along with the 10th and 11th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, were all disbanded in February 1918. The Brigade MG companies and the 266th MG Company were formed into a machine gun battalion at about this time also. Artillery had been reorganised in late 1916 and the medium and heavy mortars in early 1918. Strength dropped to 16,000 all ranks as a result of these reforms, and artillery from 76 pieces to 48, but machine gun strength was up to 64 Vickers and 336 Lewis guns.

November... Capture of Bournon Wood. 3 December... The German Counter-Attack. 1918. FIRST BATTLES OF THE SOMME. 21-23 March... Battle of St. Quentin. 24 and 25 March... Actions at the Somme Crossings. 26 and 27 March... Battle of Rosieres. BATTLES OF THE LYS. 10 and 11 April... Battle of Messines. 13-15 April... Battle of Bailleul. 17-18 April... First Battle of Kemmel Ridge. 20 July — 19 September... THE ADVANCE TO VICTORY. THE FINAL ADVANCE IN FLANDERS. 28 September-2 October... Battle of Ypres. 14-19 October... Battle of Courtrai. 25 October... Oosteghem.

During the Great War the 36th (Ulster) Division lost 32,186 men killed, wounded and missing. The summary of honours and awards to the division is: Victoria Cross — 9; Companion of the Bath — 4; Companion of St Michael and St George — 21; Distinguished Service Order — 81; Military Cross — 388; Distinguished Conduct Medal — 200; Military Medal — 1,287; Meritorious Service Medal — 142; (Fr) Légion d'Honneur — 8; (Fr) Médaille Militaire — 17; (Fr) Croix de Guerre — 107;

(Fr) Médaille d'Honneur — 1; (Fr) Ordre de Mérite Agricole — 1; (Bel) Ordre de Léopold — 7; (Bel) Ordre de la Couronne — 5; (Bel) Décoration Militaire — 15; (Bel) Croix de Guerre — 151; (Ital) Order of St Maurice & St Lazarus — 1; (Ital) Silver Medal for Military Valour — 1; (Ital) Bronze Medal for Military Valour — 5; (Russ) Cross of St George — 4; Montenegrin Order of St Danilo — 2. **MI**

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# An Elizabethan Light Horseman for Ireland

JOHN TINCEY Paintings by CHRISTA HOOK

The soldiers who served Elizabeth I have been overshadowed by her seamen, whose epic deeds climaxed in the defeat of the Armada. Little of even the scant attention paid to Elizabeth's armies has fallen on the cavalry, and the light horseman appears far down the list of interests. The thin pictorial evidence gives few clues as to their appearance, and written descriptions are few — making those concerning the outfitting of one Laurence Lee to serve as a light horseman in Ireland a vital source of information.

## THE IRISH BACKGROUND

In February 1595 Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, set aside his submission to Elizabeth I and moved his forces to the banks of the River Blackwater. To face Tyrone's army of 4,000 shot, 1,000 pike and 1,000 horse the English could muster only 1,100 men, their other forces being tied down in garrisons in Munster and Connaught. Orders were issued for 2,000 men to return from the expedition to Brittany and to hurry to Ireland; but with the wastage of disease and desertion customary to any contemporary expedition only 1,616 men survived to land at Waterford on 19 March 1595. Taking advantage of his enemy's weakness, Tyrone captured Enniskillen Castle and quickly moved on to besiege Monaghan Castle. A relief force was able to revictual Monaghan in late May; but during its withdrawal it suffered heavy casualties at Clontibret, and it was only Tyrone's failure to turn from harassment to direct attack that saved the English from total rout.

In response Elizabeth's Privy Council ordered a reinforcement of 1,000 men to be raised for service in Ireland. Having no standing army to call upon the Crown relied on its county-based system of Trained Bands to provide a national defence force<sup>(1)</sup>. The standard of equip-

ment and training of the Trained Bands varied depending on the enthusiasm of the Lord Lieutenant of the county and his Justices of the Peace. The further a county was from London, the less authority the Privy Council exercised over the local administration; and surviving correspondence tells a sorry tale of poorly completed

muster returns and chaotic muster days. The Trained Bands were not eligible for service overseas, and the need to raise and equip the necessary soldiers to mount a foreign expedition required a special effort by the Queen's Privy Council. To be sent to fight in a foreign war was considered a sentence of death, and this was borne out by the fact that on average only half the men sent on such expeditions would return home. As ever, counties closest to the capital came under the strongest pressure. This took the form of a mixture of threat and pleading within the system of court patronage and social deference which turned the wheels and greased the palms of the Tudor court.

### Kent's response

Thus it was that Lord Cobham,

Lord Lieutenant for Kent, came on 13 June 1595 to write to Sir John Leveson to require that five light horsemen be raised within the county for service in Ireland.

The letters referred to in this section of the article may be found reproduced in 'The Twysden Lieutenancy Papers 1583 — 1668', Gladys Thomson ed., Kent Archaeological Society Records Branch, 1926. Eager to show that he was doing his best to protect his supporters within the county, Lord Cobham pointed out that the Council had originally demanded six horsemen, but that he had 'procured the abatement of one' and therefore the others should be 'levied at once with no default'. This conveniently left one horseman to be raised in each of



*This cavalrman wears a casock with half-length sleeves. His long-barrelled French pistol or petronel is carried in a holster attached to the pommel of his saddle (lost Annan)*



the administrative divisions, or Lathes, of the county. As captain of the light horsemen of the Trained Bands for the Lathe of Aylesford Mr. Roger Twysden, of Roydon Hall near East Peckham, was asked to be at the Sign of the Star at Maidstone on Wednesday next, bringing with him the muster roll and subsidy book so that a horseman could be chosen and money raised for his outfitting.

Matters proceeded with great speed, and by the 18th a list of equipment required had been drawn up and the name of Laurence Lee put forward to be the horseman, with the seemingly enthusiastic support of his brother Brian. Unfortunately we are given no hint as to why Brian Lee was so willing to send

his brother to almost certain death in Ireland. However, we are told that the shire could scarcely produce a person more sufficient for the work, 'especially for that his brother is a man well known to be able to undertake for him to our satisfaction'. The qualities of the horse provided were not so certain, as it was known to be 'restive'. An anonymous letter of 25 June demonstrates that Brian Lee was a conscientious and enthusiastic agent in despatching his brother on a military career:

'Wee have willed the said Brian Lee to ride to London taking his Brother with him, so as he may be as rathe with yow on the said Thursday the xxvi the day of this present to take your aduise that all these percells of furniture (i.e. parcels of equipment) may be provided fit and well suted that he may be with his Brother Laurance Lee with the said furniture at the Angell at Rochester the monday before vii of the clocke according to the order taken at Maidstone. And wee haue alsoe deliuered to the said Laurance Lee xii<sup>s</sup> for his Imprest and vi<sup>s</sup> for the time he was imprest untill his Employment. Wee will also send to Rochester so as he shall be there on Monday beefore viii of

the Clocke.

'For his conduct for viii dayes to London and from thence to Whestchester at iii<sup>s</sup> per diem xxiiii<sup>s</sup> and to put in his purse xx<sup>s</sup> and thus Sir wee trust this Horsman will be rightly furnished according to the order taken at Maidstone He will haue regard to furnish them of the best as the allowance will permitt being it is for his owne Brother to serue with. And thus with our very hartly Commendations we leaue you to the Protection of the Almighty God this xxv th of June 1595

Your uery loucing frende'

### The light horseman's equipment

The correspondence regarding the outfitting of the Aylesford horseman contains three lists of equipment: one giving the Commissioners' requirements, one listing what had been provided, and a final account of what had been paid for. The three are remarkably consistent, and the account written on 25 June of items purchased will stand for all three.

'Sir wee have deliuered to Mr Bryan Lee to furnish his brother Laurence when wee have chosen to be the

Horseman for ye Lath of Aylesford viij<sup>s</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup>.

Viz: For a paire of Curasses blacke with an Headpeece — xxvj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>s</sup>; Item for a long french pistoll with a firelocke — xxvj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>s</sup>; Item for a light Horseman's Staffe — ij<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>s</sup>; Item for a Sword Dagger & Girdle — x<sup>s</sup>; Item for a paire of Sleeces of Mayle — viij<sup>s</sup>; Item for a Saddle of Morocco Fashion of counterfeit, Buff with girts, Stirrups headstall Bridle croper and a pilliane for ye pistoll — xxvi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>s</sup>; Item for a millian fustian Dublet — xx<sup>s</sup>; Item for a paire of Shamweys Venetian — xx<sup>s</sup>; Item for two paire of Stockings — xiiij<sup>s</sup>; Item

*This picture is unusual in that it shows a horseman with a cartridge box (at the centre of the picture at the top of the horseman's right thigh). This was a small tin box containing a wooden former which had been drilled with between five and eight holes of a size to accept paper cartridges each containing one charge of gunpowder. The box had a flip-top lid held by a spring catch, which protected the vulnerable cartridges from rain. Sir John Smythe says that in addition to a 'touchbox' of priming powder a horseman should carry 'a Carriage boxe of Iron of 7 or 8 cartages fast set upon euerie pistoll as a . . . As well as fixing rings for attachment to a holster, some cartridge boxes had clips which could be fitted into leather straps to be hung from a belt, as apparently in this picture. (Jost Amman)*

*European armies were far in advance of the English in their attempts to combine the mobility of horsemen with the enhanced effectiveness of firearms. The horseman in the foreground is defended by a burgonet helmet and an 'Ulmair Rucel' worn over mail sleeves with armoured gauntlets. In addition to his heavy harquebus he has no less than three wheellock pistols. Such a horseman would have been enormously expensive to equip, and it is likely that only the most successful of mercenary Reiters would have afforded such a plethora of weaponry. (Woodcut by Jost Amman from 'Ritterliche Reiterkunst' by L.V.C., 1584.)*







*This high-quality black Almain Rivet dates from around the middle of the 16th century. Unlike a full armour the shoulder pieces offer protection only to the outside of the arms and are attached directly to the collar. This picture, and that of the white Almain Rivet, show the defensive qualities of the burgonet to good effect. (Wallace Collection)*

for two Shirts with falling bands — xij'; Item for Bootes & Spurres — viij'; Item for a paire of Shoes — ij'; Item for a Hat or Cap — ij'vj'.

Although it may have been little consolation, Laurence Lee could have considered himself very well turned out by his neighbours. The total cost of sending him to Ireland was calculated to have been the very considerable sum of £30 0s 4d.

His two shirts would have been made of a coarse and hard-wearing linen. The 'falling bands' were collars attached to the shirt by tapes and thus removable for washing. This type of shirt was intended to be worn beneath a doublet which had a small raised collar; the band came in the form of a similar standing collar with a larger circle of material which 'fell' over the doublet collar onto the shoulders, thus protecting the doublet from the wearer's invariably dirty hair. Stockings would have been long to reach above the tops of thigh-length riding boots, themselves intended to protect the legs and knees from the crush of fellow horsemen and the branches of undergrowth. The boots were evidently of thick leather, as shoes were provided for dismounted wear. His doublet, a short jacket-type garment reaching down to just below the waist, was to be of 'fustian', a coarse thick cotton cloth. Venetians were an early form of loose breeches reaching from the waist to just below the knee. Compared to other styles of the period which contained large amounts of padding, the vene-

*A white (i.e. bright metal) Almain Rivet of very high quality; the armour available to common English soldiers could not match the decorative finish, standards of workmanship, or thickness of metal of this fine European armour. Although Almain Rivets were cheaper to produce than full armours they gradually passed out of favour, most soldiers preferring to invest their money in a solid cuirass and mail sleeves. (Wallace Collection)*



tians offered a comfortable and practical garb. They were to be made of buff leather (for 'shamweys' read charmois) for durability and protection from hard riding. A hat or cap was provided to offer more comfortable wear than the confining helmet.

Thus far the outfit could be that of any man setting out for a day's hunting or a long journey in the saddle. One item not mentioned in the above list was the 'coate of bleu Cloath' which the Commissioners had specified would cost up to twenty-three shillings when they met at Maidstone. A coat was provided at the cost of one pound (twenty shillings) and is mentioned in the final account. The reason why this coat does not feature in the outfitting list may be that it was a special uniform item. As will be seen from Lord Cobham's letter reproduced below, 'Large Cassocks made of blew cloth with long sleeves' had been specified for all the Aylesford light horsemen in 1585 and a special pattern sent down to be copied. It seems likely that Laurence Lee was given one of the uniform coats that had been previously made for the Trained Band light horse. The cassock was a large loose coat worn over a doublet by both horse and foot soldiers. A manuscript dated 1600 referring to uniforms for service in Ireland states that three yards of broad cloth and three yards of 'bayes' lining was needed for each garment.

For his offensive arms Laurence Lee carried the sword and dagger worn on a waist belt that was the hallmark of all soldiers. His 'staffe', a light lance, was somewhat old-fashioned by European standards, but his long-barrelled French wheel-lock pistol was the very latest in cavalry armament. Nor did he lack defensive 'arms'. His 'pair of Curasses' would have formed the back and breast plates of a corselet, which together with his ring-mail sleeves would have protected the upper part of his body. These mail sleeves were lined with fustian like that used for the doublet.

We may assess just how well this equipment measured up to



*The finely decorated light horseman's armour which belonged to Sir John Smythe ably demonstrated his devotion to defensive arms. By the 1590s the part of the burgonet helmet which protected the face was normally discarded, and the expensive articulated armour for hip, thigh and knee was often not worn. This armour lacked the pauldrons and vambraces to defend arm and shoulder which would have raised it to demi-lancer standards. (Royal Armouries,*

contemporary standards by comparison with the instructions issued to Roger Twysden in 1585. (B.L. Additional MSS 34176, Twysden Papers — Letters 1580 — 1747).

'Instructions ffor Mr Roger Twysden Esq. Captayne of the Light horsemen within the Lath of Aylesford 1585 (from Lord Cobham)

(1) That the musters bee presentlie taken by you of all the Light horses and their Ryders and furniture within the said Lath and that Inrollment bee made of them together with the names of the persons Chargable therewith and therof to Certyfy mee before the xxiiij th (24) day of August.

(2) That those horses or geldinges and their furnitures and Ryders bee appointed and furnished in such sorte as is therefore set downe in the instructions sent from their honours of her matis privy Counsell the last yeare viz. That the Ryders have a Jack of plate or a Coate of plate and a scull for his head with Checkes Couvered with Cloath or some such like thinge, or in place therof a Burgannet, and the Ryders Sleeves of his dublet to bee stricked downe with some small Chayns or Plats And if any shall be otherwise disposed they may have the horsemen Armed with an Alman Rivett or the Curasse only of a Corselet Wishing also that the horse or geldinge should trot or Rack as meetest for this service and the saddell to bee Light according to the use of the Largest light horsemen and yet such as acase of dagges may be fastened to the Pumell therof And that the horse or geldinge to be Ridden with a snaffle or Light bitte wherunto is to bee aded that the Ryders shalbe suited in one sorte of Large Cassocks made of blew cloth with long sleeves accordinge to the Patron therof



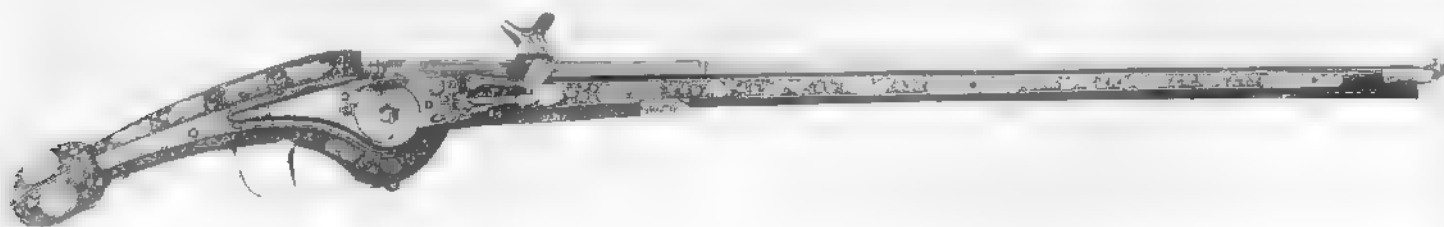




This English sergeant of a foot company serving in Ireland gives a good idea of the style of dress worn by Laurence Lee. He wears a cheap pattern of burgonet helmet with a chin strap protected by metal plates. Unlike Lee he wears a decorative but uncomfortable neck ruff rather than a falling band collar. His doublet has decorative shoulder wings and small tabs at the waist. His 'Venetian'-style breeches are comfortably loose in the seat, but narrow to tie just below the knee. He wears a sword and dagger in characteristic style as the mark of his military status. ('Image of Ireland' by John Derrick, 1581 British Library)

#### Below:

This long-barrelled French pistol may be similar to (if certainly more expensively finished than) that with which Laurence Lee was equipped. The clockwork mechanism of the wheellock spun a serrated disk, the edge of which caused sparks to strike from a flint or piece of permanganate held in the jaws of the rock. To make certain that the sparks fell into the touch powder and the train of fire passed through the touch hole to the main charge in the barrel, the pistol was fired with the wheel held uppermost. (Wallace Collection)



Christa Hook's reconstructions opposite show a selection of the clothing and armour which Laurence Lee could have worn, in and out of battle.

Fig. 1 shows the light horseman equipped for war. The burgonet helmet gives good protection to the skull, neck and cheeks, but still allows clear vision. The breastplate of his cuirass—painted with lamp black like the helmet, to prevent rusting—should be proof against pistol and long-range carbine shot. His ring-mail sleeves, fixed to inner sleeves of padded fustian, will turn back blows with edged weapons but allow the freedom of movement necessary to fight with 'staff' or pistol (We omit the former here, in order to show the latter.) His breeches are made of chainmail leather, for comfort and hard wear rather than protection. On campaign the tops of the long boots were pulled up to protect knee and thigh from casual injury on the march and in battle.

Fig. 2 shows the light horseman in everyday clothing; he would probably retain his sword and dagger belts at most times, and thus we see here the small iron cartridge box fixed to a belt tab. The cas-sock (the spelling varies as much as the

garment) came in a variety of styles and was known by various names. They were made with full sleeves, sometimes with open front seams with buttons, so that they could be fastened and worn or left hanging, with half-sleeves, or sleeveless. They were made waist-length, full-length, as here (based on an example preserved at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire), or to any length between. We know that the Privy Council required that the coat be blue, and the white decorative tape is typical of Tudor military garments. We also know that Lee's chainmail breeches were to be in the 'Venetian' style, described by Stubbes in *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583, as 'Venetian-hosen, they reach beneath the knee to the gartering place of the Leg, where they are tied finally with silk points or some such like'. The style of these breeches is based upon an example from the German National Museum, Nuremberg. The cap is copied from a picture of Denzil Holles painted in 1586. Smythe talks of light horsemen wearing 'red or pied caps', and given the then-current fashion for high crowned caps and hats this may serve as a good example. The heavy riding boots are worn with the tops folded down when dismounted.

that I will send you.'

To defend his head the soldier is to have either a burgonet helmet as Laurence Lee received, or a much inferior simple metal skull cap to fit inside his cap, with metal plates to cover his ears. For his main defensive armour the choice is between an outmoded 'jack' made of metal plates sewn into a short canvas doublet; an 'Alman Rivett', which consisted of a back and breast plate with slats of curved metal to protect the outside of the shoulders and arms; or a cuirass made up of a back and breast plate. Of these the cuirass was the best and most up-to-date option; the 'Alman Rivett' was an outmoded style and most examples were of cheap construction. For offensive arms the horseman was supposed to have 'a case of dagges', which can be translated as a pair of wheellock pistols which could be carried in holsters attached to the pommel of a saddle.

#### Smythe's prescription

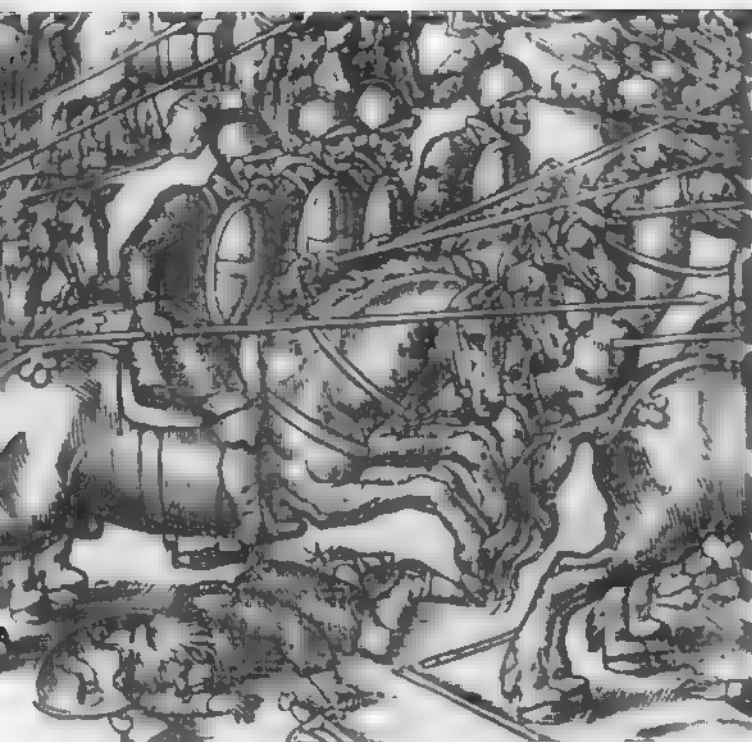
The Aylesford committee did its job well, and outfitted its light horseman generously within the terms laid down by their superiors. To gain an objective impression of how a light horseman should have been equipped we turn to Sir John Smythe (*Instructions, observations, and orders myllitarie...*, London 1595) who, writing in 1591, says:

'And therefore to begin with light horsmen, such as in diuers shires of england we doo now use, armed with red or pied cappes and steele sculles within them, and with Jackes and speares by some called Gads, instead of this rude kinde of arming as I account it, I would wish that they should bee armed with burgonett, or else with upright morrions after the Spanish manner, with collers, cuirasses, and backs, and short tasses, and with sleeues of mail and gauntlets, or else gloues of maile in stead of gauntlets; And to the intent they should bee the









Border Horse gained their skill at war during the long years of raiding by and against the Scots. Protected by a burgonet helmet and mail coat and armed with 'staffe' and 'target' shield, they provided a highly effective light cavalry force to Elizabeth's armies in Ireland. Unlike the lance, which was carried couched, the 'staffe' was used as a thrusting weapon, much more suited to the manoeuvrability of lightly armed horsemen. ('Image of Ireland' by John Derrick, 1581. British Library)



more easily & fitly armed, I would wish that they should be apparelled I mean in doublets & Greigescoes (i.e. breeches)... And for their speares I would wish to be of 18 foot long, and those I would wish to bee so long, because they might not only use them to charge upon their thighes, but also that they might be taking and houlding them in the midst, use them in stead of punching staues... that their sadles should not bee so litle and ill fashioned, as those which we commonly call scottish sadles, but rather that they should bee of that fashion, which wee call nowe a daies Morocco sadles, with pommells of suche conuenient heighth as one single pistoll in acase might bee buckled and set fast to the same, as also that the same should be made fast and buckled athwarte the lower end upon a litle bolster to make it to fit the more firme, and fitly upon all occasions to be used according to the manner of the Reiters'

Smythe was notorious for his love of heavily armed soldiers of all classes, but even so Laurence Lee could consider himself well turned out even by this exceptionally high standard. Smythe clearly does not think highly of the coats made of metal plates and iron skull caps worn in hats proposed as alternative arma-

The cornet of Sir Philip Sidney's troop of demi-lancers carries his guidon at Sidney's funeral in 1587. He wears a cassock with false hanging sleeves under a peascod breast and back plate. The tops of his riding boots are rolled down to make walking easier; when riding they would cover his 'Venetian' breeches, reaching up to his cassock. He wears a falling band collar and a soft felt broad-brimmed hat. His heavy lance, made to be used couched, may be contrasted with the light staffe used by the Border Horse and the light horsemen ('Cytizens of London practised in Armes' from the Lant Roll, 1587. British Library)

ment by Lord Cobham. Smythe would have approved of the burgonet, mail sleeves and cuirass which Lee received, but would have wanted a gorget or collar to protect his neck, and tassets to defend his thighes

A final comparison is with a list giving the cost of equipping light horsemen from 1600 (B.L. Harleian MSS 3324 f27). The list includes an interesting attempt to combine the light horseman with the Petronel.

'Curett. Back Brest collar and headpeece of the best — 01 00 00; poulderons — 00 06 00, Large elbow gauntlets — 00 08 00; Petronells with case flasse and mould — 01 04 00; Staffe — 00 03 00; Sword and dagger wight Turkey — 00 13 04; Girdle and hangers — 00 02 06; Som — 03 16 10.' The total cost of Laurence Lee's comparable arms and armour was £3 11s 8d.

We can conclude that Laurence Lee was equipped generously according to the standards laid down by the authorities, and that even Smythe would not have found him wanting.

Sadly, we cannot finish the story of Laurence Lee. He was sent to Ireland in time to be involved in several campaigns and some major English defeats. As a horseman he would have had a better chance than most to escape from a rout, and his mobility would have given him access to more and healthier billets and supplies. His name does not appear in a *Register of relief awarded disabled and aged soldiers from petitions 1595 — 1603*, published by J.J.N. McGurk ('Casualties and Welfare Measures for the sick and wounded of the Nine Years War in Ireland, 1593 — 1602', JSAHR Volume LXVIII Nos. 273 and 275). It would be comforting to think that he returned home to claim his share of the family inheritance from the brother who had so eagerly sent him to the wars; but he may well have ended his days as one of the anonymous casualties of Elizabeth's military expeditions. [M]

#### Note

(1) See also 'MT' Nos. 14 & 15. The London Trained Bands, 1588' and Osprey Elite 15, 'The Armada Campaign, 1588', both by the present writer



# A 17th Lancer of 1854:

## Notes on the Reconstruction of Uniform, Arms, Accoutrements & Saddlery (I)

ALAN LARSEN

The origins of this project lay in a request to a cavalry re-enactment group with which the author is associated — 'The Troop' — from the historical presentations company Corridors of Time. Aware of our experience in other areas of specialist cavalry re-enactment, they asked 'The Troop' to begin preparatory work with a view to participating in their 1992 programme, the centrepiece of this series of events being a Charge of the Light Brigade scenario. To this end prototype reconstructions of appropriate British cavalrymen have been commissioned; and the results of the first of these are the subject of these notes.

Despite the vast body of literature published on the events of 25 October 1854 at Balaklava, little of this material has covered the actual appearance of the men and the horses involved. Even less has been published on such relatively unglamorous topics as saddlery and accoutrements<sup>(1)</sup>. Compounding this situation is an almost total lack of original items of other ranks' equipage. This information was obviously crucial to their accurate reconstruction, and a great deal of research was necessary into areas one might reasonably expect to have been well documented.

The conclusions which we reached regarding certain key items, and their application to individual reconstruction, are briefly discussed here; but it is not claimed that they provide the definitive reference — where doubt remains, or logical deduction was employed for lack of firm information,

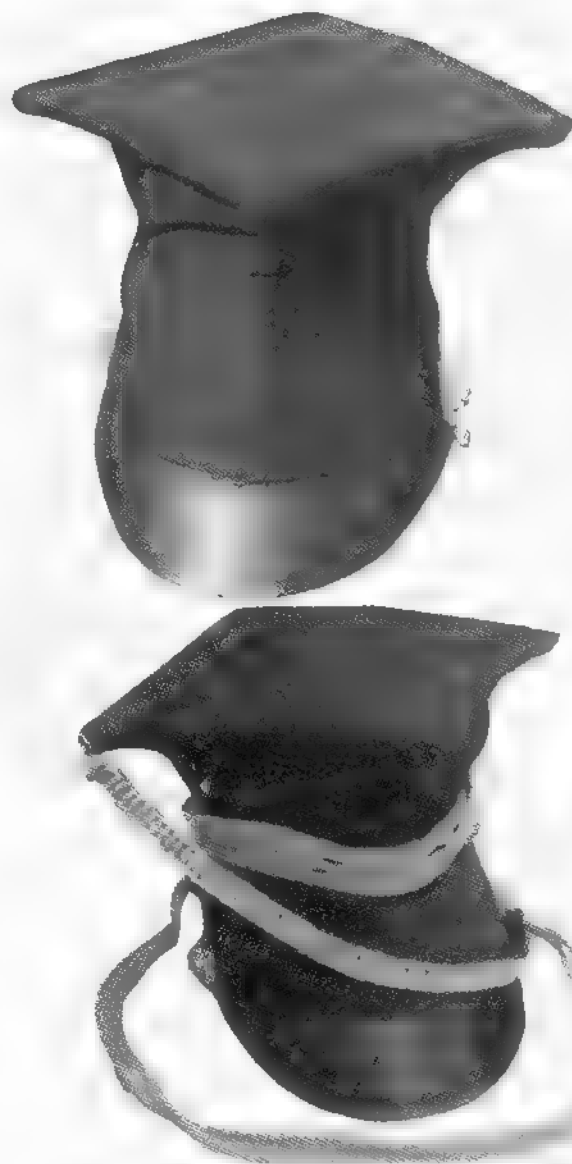
we have said so. Rather it is our intention to spark some interest, and perhaps feedback, on this subject, while still recording a rarely attempted and, we believe, generally successful undertaking.

### Lance Cap Cover

The full glory of the 17th Lancers' lance cap was hidden in the Crimea under an all-too-necessary protective cover — of white cotton while the regiment was at Varna in June-August 1854, and of oilskin thereafter. This was to protect the delicate construction of leather, buckram and felt from the rigours of climate and campaign life. Having inevitably failed to do so, it remained in use, at least serving the purpose of holding the constituent parts of the headdress together.

(While officers' dress has no part in this article, it is pertinent to note that these gentlemen foresaw and pre-empted the inevitable campaign deterioration of their caps. Blocking out their oilskin covers with cane frames and adding a leather peak produced a separate, and presumably light and practical headdress which was worn throughout the war.)

Our reproduction cover was based on a surviving officer's version, in large part. Two opening edges, each closed with tin buttons, are a neces-



Captions to colour photographs overleaf.

(A) and (B) show the reconstructed lancer in full uniform and field equipment on foot, his order of dress is the modified No. 8 'Patrol Order', as worn on 25 October 1854 at Balaklava. The dress cap in its waterproof cover is attached to his body by its yellow worsted cap-lines. The dress jacket, with brass shoulder-scales removed for field service, has white facings and piping and a yellow worsted 'waterfall' fringe in the rear waist. Note the cutaway shape of the white turn-backs in the rear view. The experimental grey overalls issued to this regiment have the 17th's double white stripe. He wears his sword hooked up to the waist-belt, which also carries a percussion cap pouch. His pouch belt for pistol ammunition is worn over his left shoulder, his can-

teen and haversack over his right shoulder and hanging behind his left hip. (Photos: Mike Perring)

(C) A lancer mounted. Saddlery will be dealt with in Part 2 of this article, but note rolled cloak in front of saddle, almost hiding the pistol holster; camp blanket behind, nearside shoe-case, and cornsack. The regiment's valises had not caught up with them by the time of the Charge of the Light Brigade. Note also the light cavalry's crescent 'amulet' hanging from the throat-lash, and the steel collar chain used to tether the horse in bivouac. (Photo: John Edge)

(D) Close-up detail of arrangement of lines on cap and body, the yellow and red girdle of strong webbing, which gave some lower back support, with its brass and cord toggle fastening, and the white cloth stripes applied regimentally to the grey overalls. (Mike Perring)

### Above right:

The reconstructed cap in its foul-weather cover, with the lion's-head bosses for attaching the chin-chain fitted externally; and with the lines wrapped round it and the chain hooked up to one corner — where the full dress cap had an inch-long brass hook for this purpose — for ease of handling when not in use. (John Eagle, Angela Jeffrey)











The suggested cavalry 'half Wellington' boot reconstructed. It can be seen here that the overalls carefully reconstructed from a surviving pair — ride up in use; the instep strap is very necessary, and although this has disappeared from the National Army Museum's example, pairs of small attachment buttons do survive on the inner surfaces of each leg. (John Eagle)

**Below**  
Reconstruction of the universal pattern ankle boot, as discussed in the text; this example was copied from a pair dated 1861 held by the National Army Museum (Mike Perring)



sary and distinctive feature. A small D-ring is added to the rear corner of the cover, through which the cap line is threaded. Two lion-head bosses are worn on either side of the lance cap as attachments for the chin chain. Their design, and that of the raised brass front plate, can for once be verified from an original item, as the Army Museums Ogilby Trust holds an other rank's lance cap dating from c.1850-55. Rumours of a regimental pattern of chain boss exist, but lacking any firm evidence to the contrary we have opted for a copy of the surviving example.

General Vanson — the gifted and prolific French officer-artist to whom all Crimean War historians owe such an incalculable debt — shows in his relevant sketches that the white cotton hot weather cover concealed the bosses, but when the oilskin foul weather cover is worn they are clearly visible<sup>(2)</sup>. Two explanations are possible: either holes were cut in the cover through which the lion-head bosses protruded, or — as was the case with officers' caps — the chain fittings were removed and replaced over the cover. This latter seems the more likely option, particularly on active service, as the waterproofing would thus not have been compromised.

#### Cap Lines

Until our reconstruction the exact arrangement of these cords was something of a mystery to me (and, seemingly, to

many figure designers and military illustrators as well). Lancer cap lines consisted of a 15 foot length of doubled  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. yellow worsted braid, furnished with keepers and terminating in acorns. In wear, the headgear end of the cord was tightened, noose-like, around the waist of the lance cap, then passed up through a ring fixed to the rear corner of the cap top. This kept the descending lines clear of the body, preventing snagging on other equipment. The remaining 12 feet or so of the line was then looped twice around the body, and the acorn ends hooked up on the chest.

Contemporary and modern illustrations alike tend to show the twice-looped cords as one solid mass which, in reality, could only be achieved if the two loops were sewn together. This has certainly been done with at least one surviving set of bullion officer's cords, but it seems less likely for other ranks. For our reconstruction we have confined ourselves in the absence of definite proof to the contrary — to wrapping the line neatly round the body, twice. However, given the degree to which any mounted man's accoutrements are shaken about in use, it seems

unlikely that the neat inch-wide solid yellow band which is invariably illustrated would long remain so.

#### Jacket

With regard to the cut and other general details of manufacture our jacket was closely based on a surviving contemporary Light Dragoon example in the National Army Museum, Chelsea. Thanks to the invaluable co-operation of the staff we were able to ascertain some very useful information concerning weight and weave of cloth, size and type of stitching, and lining and construction. One area of detail specific to the 17th Lancers which obliged us to make a decision about the planned reconstructed jacket is possibly contentious, however.

The question concerns the existence or otherwise of a line of white piping along the closing edge of the double-breasted front. This piping is not a feature of surviving officers' jackets; is mentioned in no regulation known to us; and is not seen on any other contemporary regiment's lancer jacket. We have therefore omitted it from the reconstruction, even though there is, on the face of it, a good primary source for its

presence.

This is Richard Ebsworth's watercolour of members of the 17th in marching order, completed at a later but unknown date but based on sketches believed to have been made in England in 1854, the painting is reproduced in John and Boris Mollo's *Uniforms and Equipment of the Light Brigade* (Historical Research Unit, 1968) Ebsworth's error — for such I believe it to be — has been perpetuated by subsequent illustrators. The logical answer lies in the fact that the watercolour postdated the original sketches by an unknown interval.

By 1856 the first pattern of Lancer tunic was beginning to appear in those home-based regiments which Ebsworth would have encountered regularly in his capacity as a wine-merchant's representative visiting officers' messes, and which he sketched so assiduously. This tunic, and all subsequent patterns, featured the button-back plastron of facing colour which, when fastened across, still revealed a line of facing down the edge. It seems at least arguable that when he worked up his sketches of the 17th into a finished painting Ebsworth may have 'back-projected' this detail on to the earlier type of jacket.

#### Trousers (Overalls)

We are on safer ground here. Within the Light Brigade both the 17th Lancers and the 13th Light Dragoons wore heavy grey woollen overalls, of which at least two pairs have survived. Thanks to the help of Sylvia Hopkins and her staff at the National Army Museum we were able to examine a pair attributed to Private W. Sewell of the 13th.

Issue of these grey overalls was made to four regiments in all in March 1854, on the outbreak of war. This seems to have represented an experimental return, in colour at least, to the campaign 'coveralls' of the Napoleonic period. The experiment, evidently, was not judged a success. Although the garments seem, for the most part, to have survived the terrible winter of 1854/55 (members of the 13th were



photographed wearing them in spring 1855), they were not reissued. Consequently both regiments seem to have finished the war wearing their standard blue trousers, which had been packed along with the other spare clothing in the off-side (right hand side) of the soldiers' valises.

Reconstruction of the grey overalls, with the 17th Lancers' regulation double white stripe, was fairly straightforward, if time-consuming. However, one feature missing from the original garment, which we had expected to find, was any significant degree of 'bag' in the seat. In the writer's very direct experience an ample — almost comical — allowance is needed in this area, and is generally found in any pair of period riding trousers or breeches. Otherwise the lack of 'give' in the material, accentuated by non-elasticated braces and the strapped-down cuffs of the trousers, can lead to grave problems whilst mounting and dismounting.

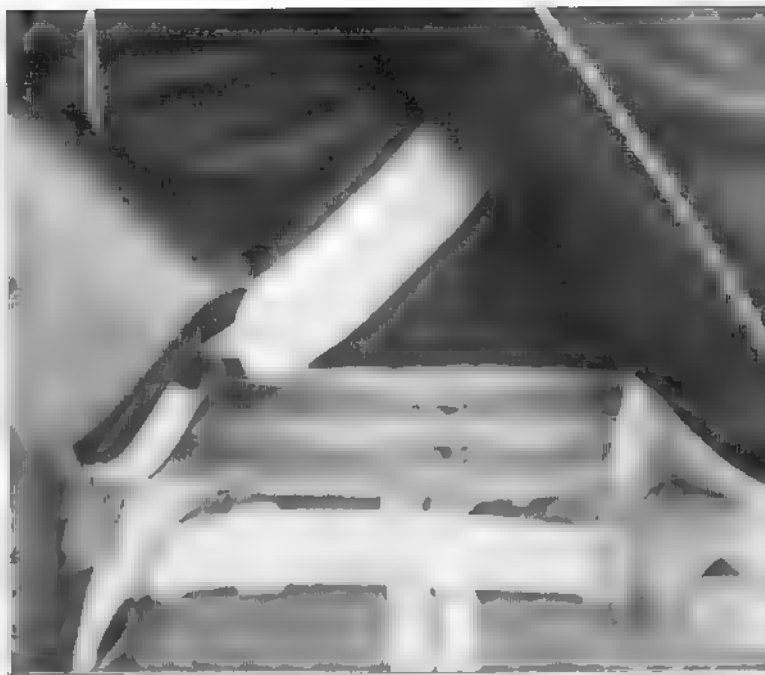
#### Boots

The exact design of the 'boots, ankle' worn beneath the trousers by British cavalry of the period is unclear. No identified specimens survive, and contemporary illustrations, photographic or otherwise, are of little use since few details are visible.

General trends in British military footwear can provide some guidelines. Toes were

noticeably square, and had been so since before the Napoleonic Wars. The rationale behind this was simple — military footwear was intended to be clearly identifiable as such, thus aiding the apprehension of deserters, and generally discouraging the misappropriation of the monarch's property. An equally distinctive feature of the majority of military shoes and boots since at least the early 18th century had been a 'flesh' or 'rough' side finish, for two good reasons. Issued footwear was normally unlined, and it was more comfortable to have the smooth side of the leather next to the foot. Also, the rough finish provided a better base for the cheap black dyes used in the finishing process, and for any subsequent waterproofing.

Our starting point, then, is a square-toed, rough-finish boot issued, according to regulation, twice a year. Was this in fact the contemporary 'universal pattern' ankle boot generally associated with the infantry, of which at least two examples<sup>1</sup> (dated to 1856 and 1861) survive today? Only just covering the ankle bone, these are of a very low cut, however, and raised doubts in my mind as to their practicality as a horse-man's footwear. Even when our carefully reconstructed trousers were provided with instep straps they still, in use, rode up well over the ankle, resulting in an unsightly and



uncomfortable gap. All of this lends great interest to a reference<sup>(2)</sup> from 1860 to 'the Wellington boots at present worn by our Dragoons under their trousers'. A Wellington boot was defined not by its length but by its construction. Hence, even if only 7 in. or 8 in. high, a Wellington could still be described as such, while also being feasibly classifiable as an 'ankle boot'.

If this is the case, and our light cavalryman is wearing a half-Wellington as opposed to a lace-up boot, it would explain why no lacing is apparent below the trouser line in any contemporary photographs or in Vanson's precisely detailed sketches.

#### Spurs

Steel 2 in. long spurs with a small rowel, attached to the heel of the boot, were the regulation 'hooks' of the 17th Lancers and, indeed, of every other mounted unit in the Crimea. A couple of points are worth noting, however, with regard to their exact shape and method of attachment.

In fashionable civilian usage the straight spur had been 'out' since the 1840s; but our sources show both straight and swan-necked spurs being worn prior to and during the Crimean War; and although the latter were replacing the former, such a simple, sturdy item could be expected to have a long service life. Attachment into the heel was by three

*Details of the regimental buttons, the girdle fastening, and the piping on the rear of the sleeves. (Mike Perring)*

screws per spur: one on either side, and another under the shaft itself. The now-familiar 'box spurs' with moulded decorative screw heads did not come into use until the late 1870s.

**To be continued:** Part 2 will describe accoutrements, arms, and horse furniture.

#### Notes

(1) We are told that in autumn 1992 this situation will change with the publication of *Into the Valley of Death* by John & Boris Mollo, with colour plates by Bryan Fosten (Windrow & Greene Ltd., London ISBN 1-872004-75-X). This large format book will contain not only the detailed material on the Light Cavalry from the long-unobtainable *'Uniforms and Equipment of the Light Brigade'* published by the same authors in 1968; but also unpublished material on the Heavy Brigade at Balaclava. Eight very detailed colour plates have been prepared by Bryan Fosten, illustrating different ranks of all relevant regiments in various orders of dress, with horse furniture.

(2) From a collection of drawings held in the library of the Musée de l'Armée, Paris.

(3) Held by the National Army Museum, Chelsea, London under acquisition nos. 7705-35-1 and #-35-2. A similar pair of boots found at Weedon Barracks and dated to the 1840s is illustrated in June Swann's *'Shoes'* (Batsford, 1982).

(4) From *All the Year Round - An Annual Periodical - 1860'* For this reference and a wealth of unpublished information on military footwear in general I am indebted to June Swann, former curator of the Northampton Shoe Museum and acknowledged authority in this field.





# Infantry Accoutrements of the US Army, 1812-1814

FREDERICK C. GAEDE

Paintings by H. CHARLES McBARRON, Jr

'Accoutrements... habits, equipage, or furniture, of a soldier, such as belts, pouches, cartridge-boxes... etc' (William Duane, *A Military Dictionary*, 1810). Although essential to the effective use of the soldier's weapons and to his wellbeing, US Army accoutrements have begun receiving significant attention only recently. Many reasons have contributed to their neglect. Accoutrements were made of more perishable materials than weapons, resulting in low survival rates, both originally and subsequently. Accoutrements typically did not generate sentimental attachment, or have a utilitarian value, which might encourage their being taken home by soldiers and used or preserved after their military roles had ended. And lastly, until the middle of the 19th century we do not encounter a generally literate soldiery, remarking on what they wore or carried.

There are, of course, official contemporaneous correspondence and records, but they are incomplete and often not well organized for the researcher. All of this has contributed to a lack of effort to identify not only the official patterns of early accoutrements, but what was actually in use at any specific time. Despite these obstacles, enough has been gleaned from

surviving specimens and archival resources to give us a fairly complete idea of the accoutrements of the enlisted soldiers of the United States during the War of 1812.

Duane's 1810 definition of accoutrements is virtually identical to that offered by Captain George Smith 31 years previously in his own *Universal Military Dictionary* of 1779. This is not surprising since, by and

large, accoutrements had not evolved in any significant way during that period in the United States. Except for the experiment during the 1790s 'Legion' period with making the entire infantry branch of the army into light infantry, and concurrent adoption of a waistbelt-mounted cartridge box, 35 years later the suspensory equipment of the enlisted soldier still resembled what had been used during the years of the American Revolution.

Indeed, a comment made in 1809 by an Army inspector, Col. Henry Whiting, not only reinforces this thought, but describes an accoutrement (the 'New Model' cartridge box adopted during the Revolution) very similar to what the Army was about to procure: 'The best model of a Cartridge box is that established by long use in the revolution, and will contain 29 rounds in the wood 11 in the Tin at the bottom, which also has a compartment for spare flints — on the outside a receptacle for oilcloth, worms & screwdriver — a large Flap which secures the whole from rain & supported by a Shoulder Belt.' This is not very different from the Model of 1808 cartridge box described below.

However, war, or in this case the possibility of war, always brings to the forefront projects which have languished in peacetime. So, despite the uneasiness with which standing armies were viewed in the United States after the American Revolution, and President Thomas Jefferson's own Republican Party's professed determination to rely solely on the state militias for the country's defence, Jefferson and his administration were forced, albeit reluctantly, to give increased attention to military preparedness after the Chesapeake-Leopard affair in June 1807 made a second war with Great Britain a distinct possibility. Within a year the US Congress authorised five new infantry regiments (the 3rd through the 7th), one of light artillery and one of light dragoons, virtually tripling the size of the Regular Army to 10,000 men. Congress also approved an annual appropriation

of \$200,000 to provide arms and equipment to the various state militias.<sup>1</sup>

The lack of change in weapons technology, large materiel surpluses from the American Revolution, small size of the Regular Army and subsequent tight military budgets had delayed attention to improving accoutrements. But a general dissatisfaction in the 1790s with the light infantry style accoutrements favoured by Gen. Anthony Wayne focused new attention on them as 'war fever' spread. Thus many of the accoutrement patterns in use during the War of 1812 had their origins in the energy devoted to their improvement as a result of the 1807 confrontation.

## PROCUREMENT REORGANISED

Since 1795 the responsibility for all accoutrement procurement had been in the hands of the Purveyor of Public Supplies. However, on the very eve of the War those responsibilities were divided between two new departments. On 28 March 1812 the Purveyor's office was abolished. It was, in part, replaced by a Quartermaster Department with a Commissary General of Purchases. As the feeding, clothing and general comfort of the soldier was the responsibility of this new department, in addition to clothing and rations the accoutrements relating to those functions were to be procured by it. These included the knapsack, haversack and canteen. The first Commissary General of Purchases was an intelligent, resourceful, seemingly tireless individual by the name of Callender Irvine.

The new Ordnance Department, created on 14 May 1812, was now to be responsible for those accoutrements directly relating to weapons, and so became responsible for cartridge boxes, scabbards and the respective belting for the various branches of service. It was headed by an equally efficient individual, Decius Wadsworth, from 2 July 1812 to 8 February 1815.

Late in 1807 Secretary of War Henry Dearborn directed the

H. Charles McBarron's reconstructions opposite show three US Army soldiers who are unlikely ever to have met, but they do help illustrate how the ideal was tempered by the expedient. Figure A shows the ideally fitted-out soldier of 1812 or spring/summer 1813, before the remainder of the uniform changes of January 1813 began to get into the field. He has the cylindrical felt cap which was later replaced by the 1813 Leather Cap worn by the other two figures. His blue coat, with the last remnants of the 18th century red facings at collar and cuffs, would soon lose its white tape decorations as well. The close-fitting linen pantaloons are shown as worn in summer, with separate black gaiters. His belting is of the preferred whitened buff leather, with a plain brass oval plate on the bayonet belt.

Figure B represents many of the soldiers of Gen. Scott's army on the Niagara frontier in 1814, with the long blue woollen coat replaced by a

short grey woollen type (a 'grey jacket' with sleeves, as Irvine termed it), devoid of trim and facings. The smart but impractical pantaloons have been replaced by woollen overalls, more suited for campaigning, with the gaiters worn beneath them. He has a typical haversack, rather larger than the type described in the text, and a tin canteen with a leather sling.

Figure C shows the linen jacket and overalls intended for summer wear and for use by troops in southern latitudes. He wears a hide knapsack, as discussed in the text. His Pattern of 1808 belting is black, as on Fig. B, note details of bayonet scabbard in its generously cut frog. The Lherbette knapsack lying in the foreground is based on the example used by Nathaniel Mitchell of the 1st US Artillery, illustrated in the text. The muskets are M1795 or M1808, both of which were based on French Charleville models extensively used during the American Revolution.



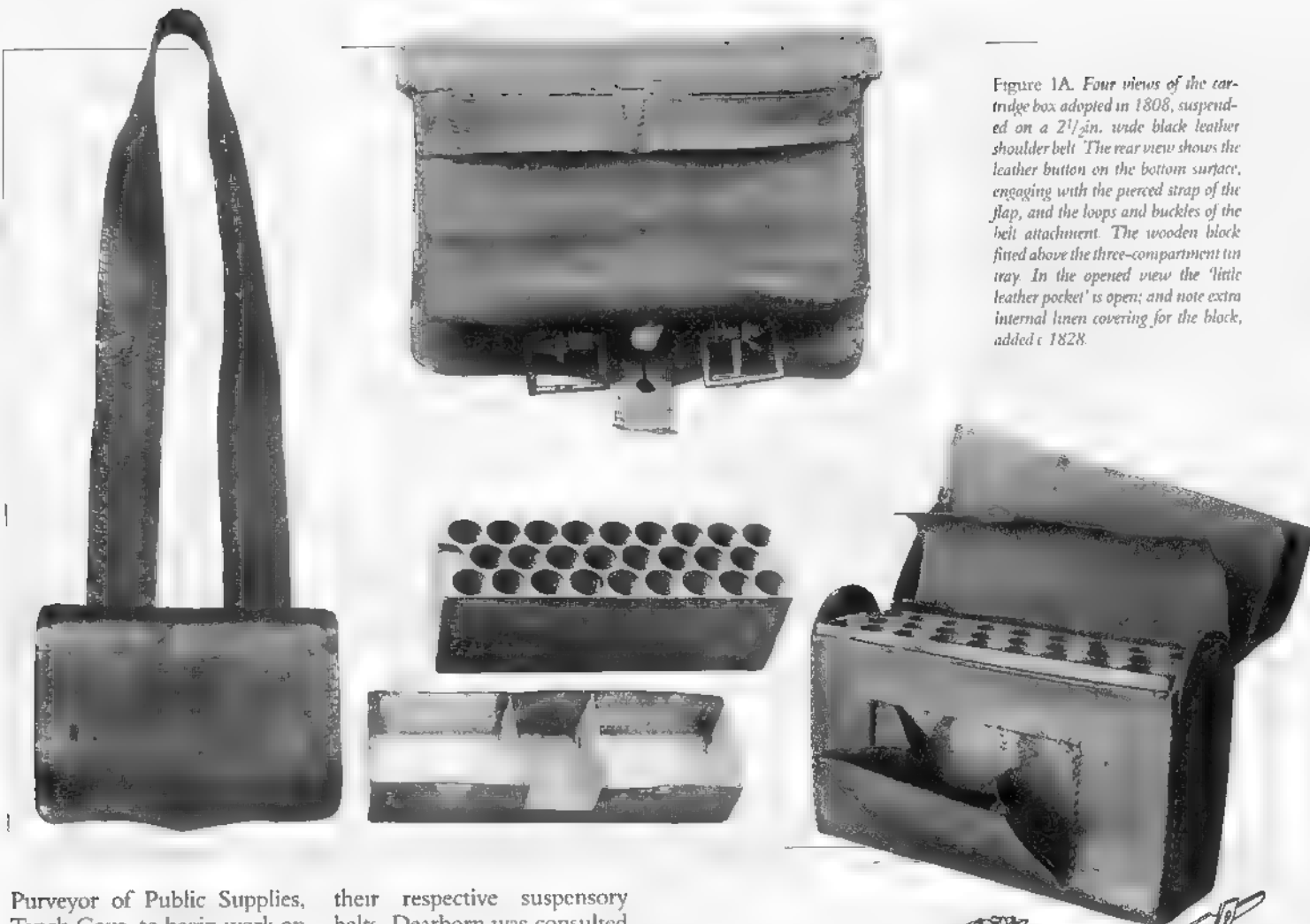


Figure 1A. Four views of the cartridge box adopted in 1808, suspended on a 2½ in. wide black leather shoulder belt. The rear view shows the leather button on the bottom surface, engaging with the pierced strap of the flap, and the loops and buckles of the belt attachment. The wooden block fitted above the three-compartment tin tray. In the opened view the 'little leather pocket' is open; and note extra internal linen covering for the block, added c 1828.

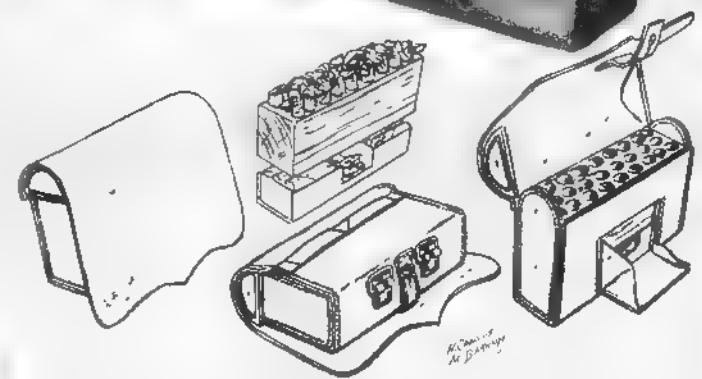
Purveyor of Public Supplies, Tench Coxe, to begin work on several new accoutrement patterns. The intent appears to have been to create uniform patterns for the accoutrements to be used by both the regular forces and the state militias, and a network for their procurement. This would parallel the system for arms procurement, which relied on two National Armories, at Springfield, Massachusetts and Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia), and contractors who based their production on the national patterns. However, for accoutrements it never quite worked, since most states used their portion of the \$200,000 annual appropriation to procure arms, and contracted locally for the more easily made accoutrements, merely using the national patterns as guides.

### BOXES, BELTS AND SCABBARDS

Coxe, whose offices were located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, worked with city leather craftsmen, principally Edmund Kinsey, to develop new patterns for the cartridge box, bayonet scabbard and

their respective suspensory belts. Dearborn was consulted at every step and his comments and suggestions were incorporated as work on the patterns progressed rapidly. Deliveries of the new accoutrements began early in 1808. With very minor changes these patterns would serve the Regular Army not only during the War of 1812 but for the next 20 years<sup>(2)</sup>.

The cartridge box shown in Figure 1 is typical of the thousands obtained by contract during the War; none were produced in national arsenals of manufacture. It represented an evolutionary step over a popular style used in the American Revolution, described above, and ignored the 'belly box' suspended by a waistbelt and neck-strap that had preceded it. In many ways it combined the best features of both the British and French boxes of the period: the bored wooden block of the former with the tin tray of the latter. In addition to the 26 paper-wrapped cartridges carried in the wooden block, bored for .69 calibre rounds, six more could be stored in each of the end compartments of the tin tray located directly below the



wooden block. The centre compartment of the tray held flints and cleaning rags (as opposed to more cartridges in the French box), and was accessed from the outside through a 'little leather pocket', as Coxe described it. The box and outer flap were of black leather, the latter devoid of any decoration except a tooled line around the edge<sup>(3)</sup>. Generally two semicircular pieces were affixed to the outer flap, giving a bit of added weather protection to the cartridges. A closure tab on the outer flap (with corresponding leather button on the bottom of the box), two buckles, and a piece on the back of the box to retain the shoulder belt completed the box itself.

Figure 1. The black leather cartridge box adopted in 1808 weighed about 3 lb. with its shoulder belt and full load of 38 cartridges of .69 calibre. The 'little leather pocket' providing access to the central compartment of the tin tray is open in the right-hand view. Note the lack of decoration on the flap (H Charles McBarron, Jr.)

The shoulder belt was 2½ in. wide, narrowing at the ends into billets about 4 in. long, the width of the buckles. These, engaging holes punched in the billets, allowed adjustment of the length of the belt, and its removal for cleaning or replacement.

The bayonet belt was also 2½ in. wide, with a rather large frog (5 in. across by 4 in. from top to bottom). Although the

frog, shown in **Figure 2**, had two openings, and doubtless was used by some NCOs to carry both sword and bayonet scabbards, all surviving examples examined by the author have only held a bayonet scabbard. The scabbard itself was simply a tapered, triangular-shaped piece of black leather with a brass clip to retain it in the frog and a brass ball tip to help protect the end. The examples of the latter shown in **Figure 3** were recovered approximately 35 years ago from a trash dump at Sackets Harbor, New York, the site of a large supply base for the US Army in 1814.<sup>(4)</sup>

The use of crossbelts with an oval belt plate at the point where the belts crossed on the chest followed practice in the British Army. However, unlike the ornate regimental plates favoured by the British, those for US enlisted men were plain brass. They were cast with a hook and two studs on the back to attach to, and facilitate adjusting the length of, the bayonet belt. Some extant examples of this plate are the prescribed oval and a full 2 1/2 in. wide. Numerous others, recovered from a wide variety of wartime sites, are slightly narrower — 2 1/4 in. to 2 3/8 in. wide. No explanation for the discrepancy has been discov-

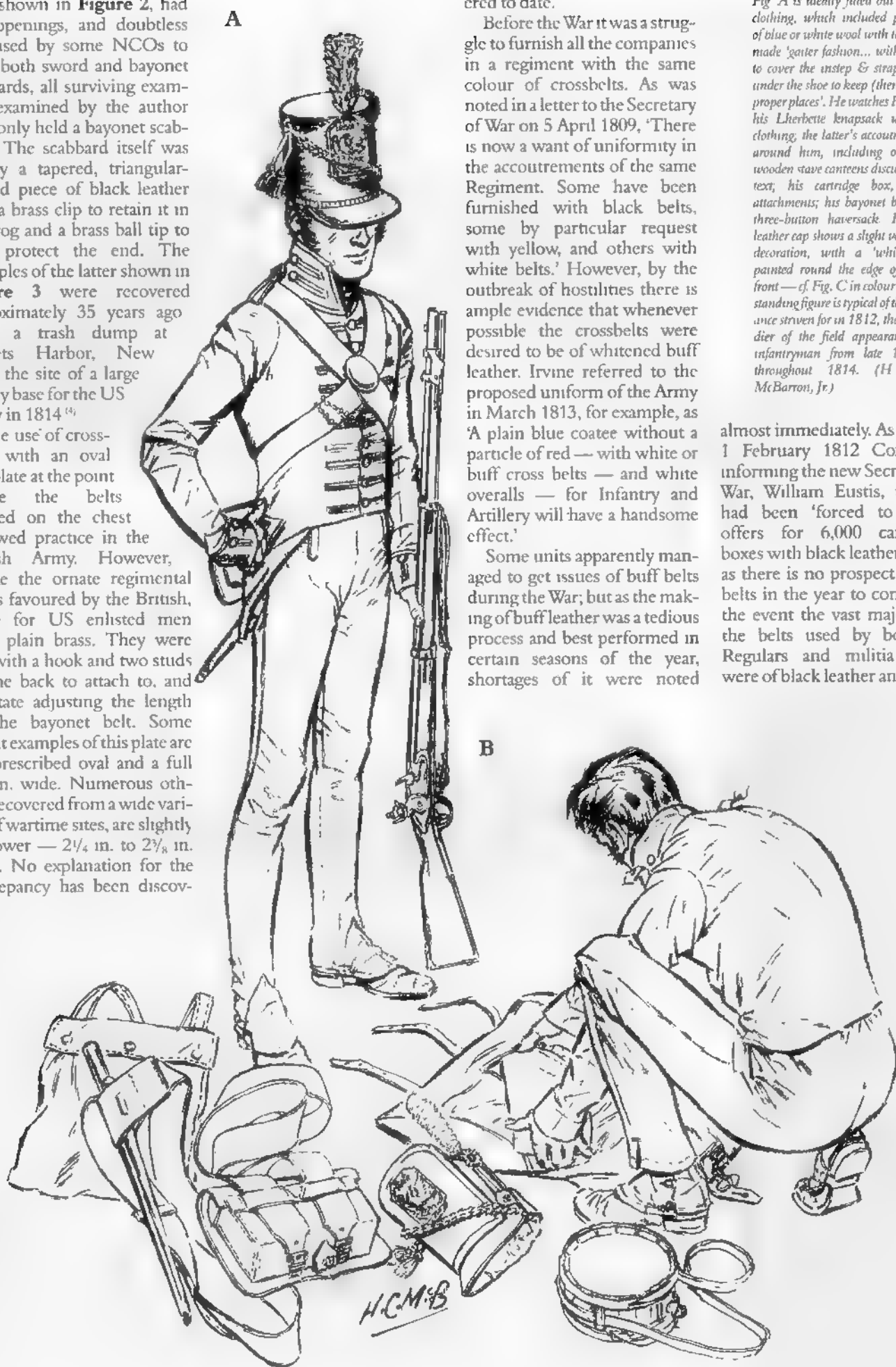
ered to date.

Before the War it was a struggle to furnish all the companies in a regiment with the same colour of crossbelts. As was noted in a letter to the Secretary of War on 5 April 1809, 'There is now a want of uniformity in the accoutrements of the same Regiment. Some have been furnished with black belts, some by particular request with yellow, and others with white belts.' However, by the outbreak of hostilities there is ample evidence that whenever possible the crossbelts were desired to be of whitened buff leather. Irvine referred to the proposed uniform of the Army in March 1813, for example, as 'A plain blue coat with a particle of red — with white or buff cross belts — and white overalls — for Infantry and Artillery will have a handsome effect.'

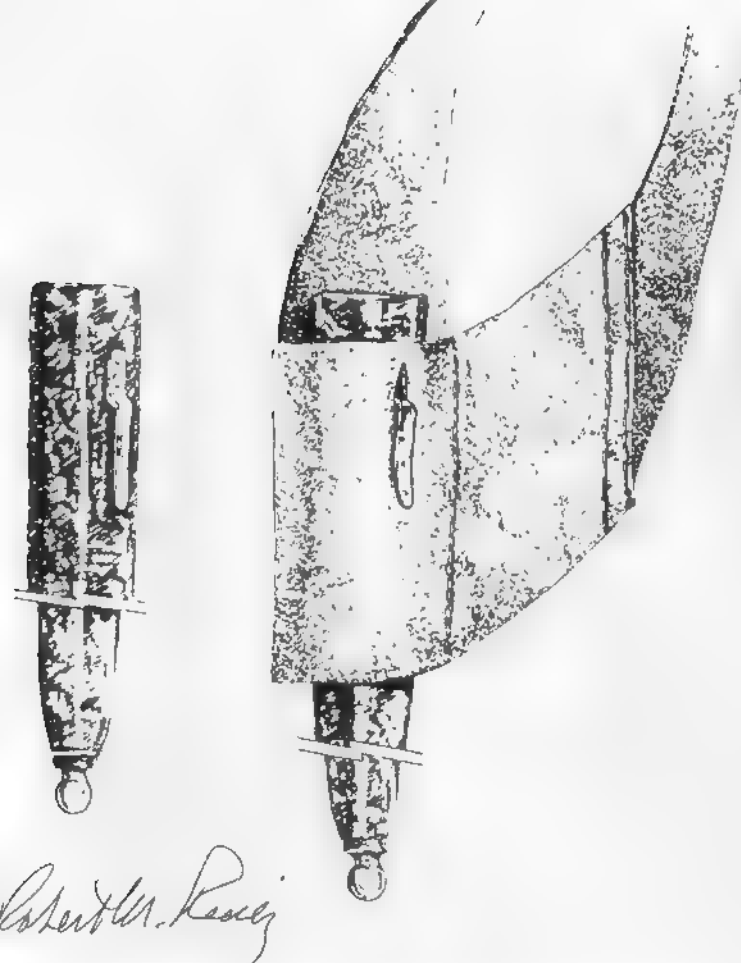
Some units apparently managed to get issues of buff belts during the War; but as the making of buff leather was a tedious process and best performed in certain seasons of the year, shortages of it were noted

*Fig. A is ideally fitted out in winter clothing, which included pantaloons of blue or white wool with the bottoms made 'garter fashion... with a tongue to cover the instep & straps, leather, under the shoe to keep (them) in their proper places'. He wears Fig. B load his Lherbette knapsack with extra clothing, the latter's accoutrements lie around him, including one of the wooden stave canteens discussed in the text; his cartridge box, showing attachments; his bayonet belt; and a three-button haversack. His 1813 leather cap shows a slight variation in decoration, with a 'white streak painted round the edge of the false front' — cf. Fig. C in colour plate. The standing figure is typical of the appearance striven for in 1812, the other soldier of the field appearance of the infantryman from late 1813 and throughout 1814. (H Charles McBarron, Jr.)*

almost immediately. As early as 1 February 1812 Coxe was informing the new Secretary of War, William Eustis, that he had been 'forced to accept offers for 6,000 cartouche boxes with black leather belts... as there is no prospect of buff belts in the year to come...' In the event the vast majority of the belts used by both the Regulars and militia forces were of black leather and not of







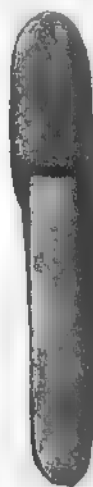
#### Above.

Figure 2. The simple construction of the bayonet belt, frog and scabbard are evident in this drawing. The two-section frog was a hold-over from the previous century, the second loop holding an NCO's sword or a camp axe; it seems seldom to have been used in the War of 1812. (Robert M. Reilly)



#### Left.

Figure 2B. Throat of an original Pattern of 1808 bayonet scabbard in the author's collection, and clip recovered from the Sacket's Harbor site



the preferred buff. This widespread substitution of black for buff, and the large number of surplus belts after the War, would result in confusion about the regulation colour of the crossbelts in the US Army for years.

### KNAPSACKS

#### Lherbette's knapsack

At about the same time that Coxé was finishing the cartridge box and bayonet scabbard patterns an enterprising New York City businessman by the name of John P. Lherbette presented a new model knapsack to the Army. Lherbette had been making headgear for various militia companies in New York when he decided to respond to an 1807 request for proposals for furnishing items for the Army. After a review of 100 trial knapsacks Secretary of War Dearborn informed Coxé on 27 May 1808 that Lherbette's was to be the model for all knapsacks obtained thereafter, and that he had contracted for 1,000 already. At the same time he forwarded to Coxé a pattern knapsack that 'bears the Seal of this office' to guide the inspection of the first 1,000 that Lherbette was to deliver. Thus the concept of 'sealed patterns', common to European procurement systems, was used in the United States as well in the early 19th century.

Dearborn retained the Prussian blue with which the flap of previous knapsacks had been painted, as well as the letters 'US' in Spanish brown (later changed to vermilion to stand out better). Lherbette's patent application adds some detail about the knapsack: it was made of Russia sheeting, a kind of smooth burlap; the insignia to be painted on the outer flap was to be a red 'US' encircled with an oval stripe of white; the strapping was of black leather; and two 'Wooden Blocks shape of an Olive' were used to secure the shoulder belts.

What Lherbette claimed to be his new feature, worthy of a patent, was the fact that the knapsack rode square upon the soldier's back. This aspect of the knapsack, 'not being broad-

Figure 2A. One of six known examples of the bayonet frog in black leather, none are known in the preferred whitened buff leather



er than a man's back ... does not prevent him from wheeling about the ranks...' However, while perhaps different from certain American knapsacks of the Revolutionary War era<sup>45</sup>, in reality it largely copied patterns that had been introduced by the French starting in 1767; and, with its two compartments, it follows construction details dating as far back as the Revolution. In any case Lherbette was granted a patent for this knapsack in 1808, and began advertising for militia orders at the same time that he was persuading Dearborn to give him a US Army contract.

In 1808 Lherbette offered his knapsacks to the Army at 65c unpainted and 80c 'painted two coats', although the patent application indicates they were to have three coats. In 1810 Coxé was instructed to pay Lherbette \$137½ each for those knapsacks that had passed inspection.

The knapsack illustrated in Figures 4 and 5 is the only extant example that conforms to Lherbette's patent; fortunately it also has a Regular Army provenance, as it is known to have been used by Nathaniel Mitchell, a corporal in the 1st US Artillery who died of consumption in New York on 27 July 1814. The original design of a US in an oval has been overpainted with a

looping ribbon design specific to the unit in which Mitchell served. At least one other Regular Army unit, the 4th Rifle Regiment, also had a specific unit designation painted on their knapsacks

### Hide knapsacks

Soon after Callender Irvine assumed the office of Commissary General of Purchases in the late summer of 1812, he began experimenting with knapsacks made of animal hides. Perhaps they appeared reminiscent of the French patterns of the late 18th century, since Col. George Izard requested on 13 November 1812 knapsacks 'made of skin like the French Artillery.' To Secretary of War Eustis, Irvine wrote three days later that he was sending a prototype knapsack 'made of skin in imitation of those used by the French soldiery, which is not only much more durable, but effectively protects its contents from moisture.' On 26 December 1812 Irvine went further: 'I propose that knapsacks made of Deer Skin shall be furnished in lieu of linen painted knapsacks, the former will last three or four years service; the latter not more than one year; the former will cost 80 cents; the latter \$1 00.'

Irvine must have gotten at least tacit concurrence to procure and issue hide knapsacks, as he sent out pattern knapsacks in March 1813 and made note of them throughout the rest of the year. For example, he replied to James Calhoun, a Deputy Commissary: 'Your letter of the 24th instant is received, as you cannot provide Cowhide knapsacks in time for the 39th Regiment of Infantry, please send them linen painted knapsacks.' And a little later, to Elisha Tracy, another Deputy Commissary: 'Your horsehides should be well dressed in belum (sic) otherwise the knapsacks will become hard and unserviceable.'

However, probably the best description of one pattern of these hide knapsacks is contained in a letter from Deputy Commissary Amasa Stetson in Boston, Massachusetts to Irvine, dated 3 May 1813. Stetson had been one of four

deputy commissaries who had been sent the pattern hide knapsacks in March, and this letter was a status report to Irvine. Because of its insights on the process by which patterns of accoutrements were developed it is quoted in its entirety:

'The box containing a Helmet & Knapsack is received. On receipt of your orders to provide Knapsacks, I bought about 2,000 horsehides, a number much greater than were necessary to make the sacks required, under an impression that they would, upon its being known the(y) were to be used for that purpose, rise, as they immediately did, twenty to thirty pr. ct. As I obtained them from the Leather Dresser, I got them made up of the best constructed form I could devise, tho somewhat different from that which you had the goodness to send me. I should have lined them but for the addition to the weight, without which they are too heavy, difficulty of getting them made, & additional expense. They have been made up from 18 to 19 inches wide, 16 to 17 deep, with a flap of twelve inches, the upper or outward part 3 to 4 inches wider than the under or back of them, that they might fill easier & form better to the back, main strap 1½ inches wide, set near to each other at top & wider at the bottom and with a stay of leather on the inner side thro which the straps are stitched, & bound the edges or sides of the Knapsack with neats leather; considering that the work would be the first which would fail, if they were duly supported with stays, I rejected needle work altogether & had them stitched 6 to the inch with an awl & a good waxed thread; I have not extended the main straps to the bottom by 4 or 5 inches, finding if they were secured at the bottom it would draw the weight hard against the soldiers back & throw the top off from the shoulders. I like the flap of the Knapsack you sent me better than that which I have been making, it appears handsomer, bound, secures the Blanket better from the additional size & the lining will keep clothing clean, & tend

to secure the contents from wet which the skin will absorb in hard rains, if you have no objection I will continue the kind of work, bind the side & stitch on the main straps the distance from the bottom which I have done.'

One last detail on these hide knapsacks is contained in a letter to Irvine dated 25 February 1814: 'I have made a number of those horsehide knapsacks sufficient to experience me in the cutting of them and I want to inform the Commissary General... if you will not permit the pockets of the sacks to be pieced you will lose at least one quarter of each hide. ...The hides I made them of is well dressed and without stench.'

### The Glengary knapsack

Despite Irvine's assertions about the durability of the hide knapsacks, he quickly found fault with them. They did stink, and many rotted due to the inadequate storage facilities available. These problems are somewhat surprising, since hide knapsacks had been used on the Continent for years by this time. Consequently, in 1814 he introduced the third (and final) knapsack pattern used during the War Although it remains something of an enigma, the 'Glengary knapsack' is noted in correspondence by that name until about 1812.

There is no doubt that the Glengary was intended to replace hide knapsacks for the troops of the Regular Army. Irvine sent the Deputy Commissaries samples in August 1814 with the notation that it 'is designed as a pattern by which when you receive orders you will have others made.' Three months later Irvine notes: 'I had 10 or 15,000 Glengary knapsacks made here for the regular troops on the lines. In my absence the militia absorbed the greater part of them to my great regret. They should be of the Glengary form for the regular troops.'

Included with the samples sent out in August was a pricing of the components of the new knapsack pattern, which provides some detail on its construction: 'Linen 55/100ths, Painting 15/100ths, Mak-

ing 12½/100ths, Strapping 70/100ths, Buckles 7 ½/100ths, in all \$1.60/100ths each.' A few additional details are included in a proposal dated 15 December 1814 to make knapsacks of the 'New Highland pattern, Glengary' by Garrit Sickles. If the Government provided the 'canvas, Buckles & Buttons' he would make them for \$1.35; 'if the strings may be of good neat Leather — \$1.25'

Although the Glengary was a painted linen knapsack, how it differed exactly from the Lherbette is still being researched. References to it after the War indicate it had 'pockets' and 'boards', suggesting a type of frame knapsack. However, it remains unclear whether this was the distinguishing feature of the Glengary. Correspondence with individuals knowledgeable about early British accoutrements, and research in Great Britain, has so far failed to provide a link between the US Glengary and any British pattern knapsacks. It does not appear to be a copy of the Trotter, which had been in service for about 15 years with British troops, and the 'Highland' reference has everyone baffled.

### CANTEENS AND HAVERSACKS

Just as with knapsacks, it is possible that three different basic canteen patterns were procured and issued during this period. Two were wooden, with one constructed like a small barrel using short staves placed around two round heads, the whole held together by two hoops, either thin bands of iron or interlocking wood. Three short cross straps held the hoops in place and retained the shoulder strap. There is no doubt that this pattern canteen was procured during the War, for it is described in several extant contracts. Further, Coxé himself describes this canteen in a letter to William Keane dated 14 February 1814, noting the canteens were to be about 7 in. in diameter, 3 in. to 3½ in. wide, the 'common staves' to be ¼ in. thick and the bung stave ⅞ in. thick 'to enable the cooper to form a convenient



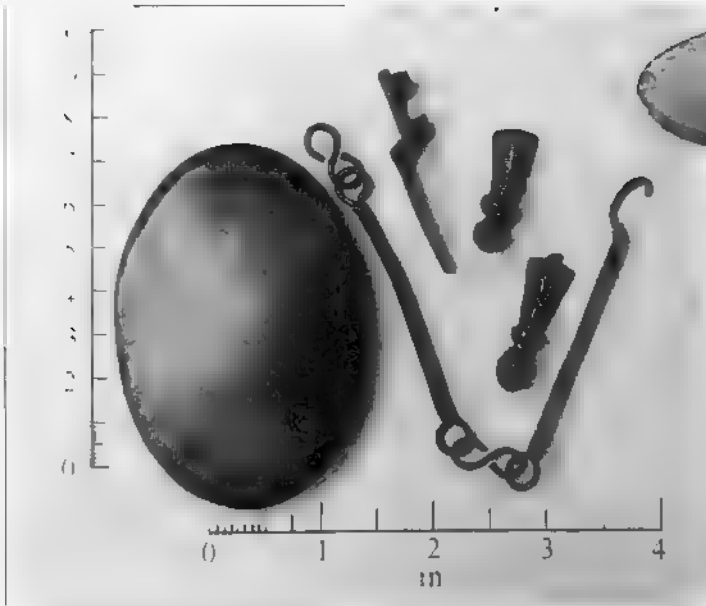


Figure 3. Artifacts recovered from an 1814 dump at Sarkets Harbor, NY by J. Duncan Campbell, one of the smaller plain brass bayonet belt plates, two links from a pick-and-brush set, a bayonet scabbard clip and two brass scabbard tips

(sic) general satisfaction'.

Tin canteens are known to have been used during the War as well, but no contracts for their construction have been located to date. This leads to a tentative conclusion that any tin canteens issued (and, for example, we do know from the Fort Fayette freight books that substantial quantities of tin ones were sent to the Northwest Army in 1813<sup>(7)</sup>) may have been from surplus Revolutionary War stocks. Somewhat in support of this theory is the fact that a tin canteen of the same style as examples recovered from sites dating from the Revolutionary War has been found at Fort Atkinson, a site occupied exclusively by the Regular Army in the 1820s (Figure 7). This suggests that such surplus stocks could have continued to

mouthpiece to drink out of.' The hoops were to be of flat hickory  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. or  $\frac{1}{6}$  in. thick, tongued into one another. This style of canteen is illustrated in the right foreground of the large monochrome illustration by Hugh McBarron herewith.

Of the other known contracts for this pattern canteen, two (with George Guck dated 2 November 1812 and John House dated 23 March 1813) substitute iron hoops for the hickory, and include the specifications that 'the slings (are) to be made of good leather of a proper length and width', and that the canteens shall 'have two coats of good light blue paint'.

The second type of wooden canteen, popularly known as the 'cheesebox' style due to its similarity to the round wooden containers used to make and store cheese, is shown in Figure 6. It is known through numerous surviving examples<sup>(8)</sup>, most of which have been overpainted and other designations applied. This example is  $8\frac{1}{4}$  in. in diameter and  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in. thick, and retains its original dark blue-black paint and vermillion lettering. Another almost identical example is in the National Museum of

American History, The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Another slightly smaller example ( $7\frac{3}{8}$  in. diameter by  $2\frac{5}{8}$  in. thick) has a light blue cloud painted behind the red lettering. And a final specimen retains what appears to be its original sling of  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. wide black leather, with a thong securing a mushroom-shaped wooden stopper.

Only one painter of canteens has been identified by the author: George N. Reinhart, a coach painter of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, who 'has gave

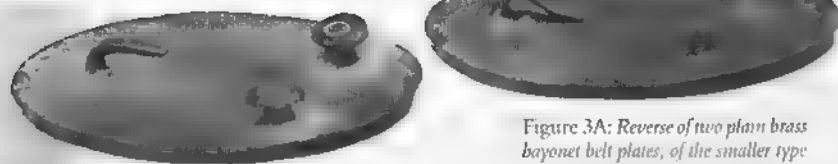


Figure 3A: Reverse of two plain brass bayonet belt plates, of the smaller type well known from numerous recovered examples; note cast hook, studs, and — surviving on the left hand plate — the washers riveted to the studs

have been issued well after the War was over<sup>(9)</sup>.

On the other hand, it is possible that some of the canteens were newly constructed during the War. Examples recovered from Fort Meigs, Ohio, have squared loops for  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. wide straps rather than the more commonly encountered round tubes to retain suspensory cords; archaeological recoveries indicate tubes to be 18th century features of canteens<sup>(10)</sup>. In any case we do know that there were plenty of canteens available to meet the Army's requirements after the War, for in 1836 Irvine noted: 'I have not purchased any Canteens since the year 1814—I paid for them at that time 40/100 each'.

The least documented accoutrement item, and the simplest, is the haversack. We know Coxe advertised for them as early as 1808, and they have universally been part of the soldier's essentials. In 1811

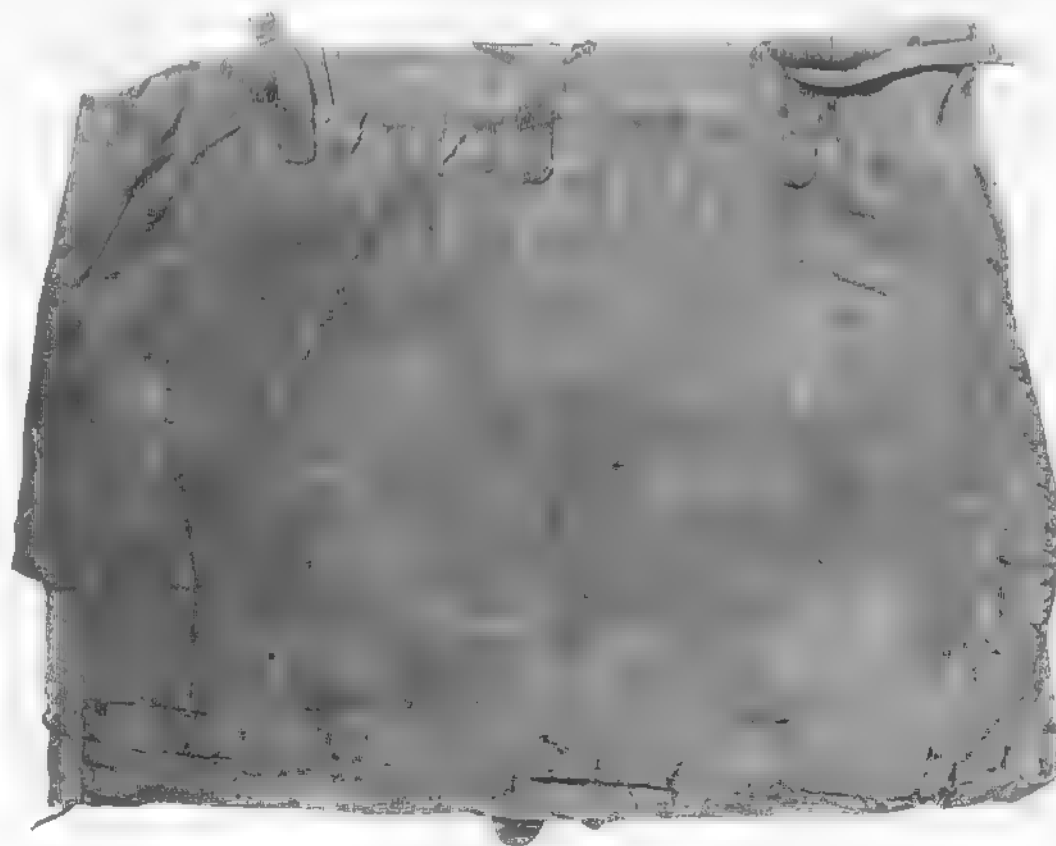


Figure 4: Outer flap of the Lherbette pattern knapsack used by Corporal Nathaniel Mitchell, 1st US Artillery, c.1814. The original 'US in an oval' design can still be made out on the original, just underneath the centre of the distinctive looping ribbon insignia of Mitchell's unit. (f Craig Nannos, Colln., National Army Museum)

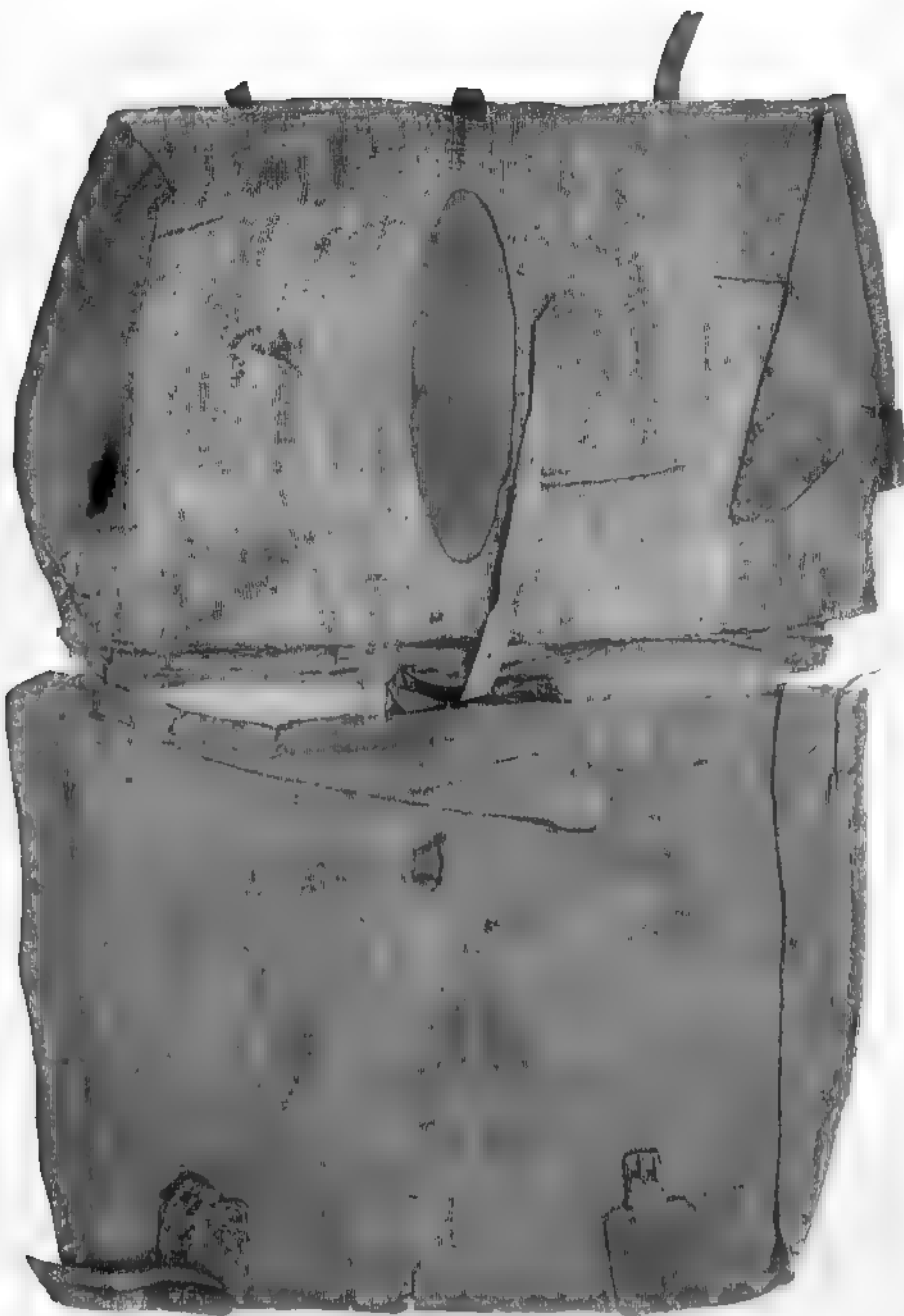


Figure 5: Interior of the Lherbette knapsack. Labour-intensive in its construction, it led CGP Callender Irvine to search for more easily made alternatives when it became obvious that large numbers of troops had to be equipped (J. Craig Nunnos Colln., National Army Museum)

Coxe wrote to James Kerr, a manufacturer, stating: 'The haversack (is) to be made out of two pieces of Russia Sheeting to be as wide as  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the Breadth of the Sheeting, the depth to be 13 inches clear of the flap when made, the Flap to be 3 inches deep, when made, the first 120 to be sent to the office immediately.' As he had noted earlier that the sheeting 'is  $40\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide', we have a rough idea of one haversack pattern that was considered (there is a notation on the letter 'not approved by Secy'). It is likely that a haversack of this size, 13 in. wide by 16 in. deep, would have required three buttons to close it. No other reference to haversacks that include dimensions have been found.

Although there was some discussion 'against the use of haversacks' in 1811, Irvine included them in his estimates of 'Equipage necessary for Army for one year, 1812-1813', and it is clear that some type of haversack was available throughout the War.

#### VARIATIONS FROM THE PATTERNS

Items described so far in this article have largely been the ideal accoutrements. However, as shortages developed (that of blue cloth for the uniform coat is well known; that of buff leather for belting has already been noted) they affected accoutrement procurement. Add the normal exigencies of war, and the result was that

items were accepted for use that did not conform to the 'established patterns'. The latitude in the size of the wooden canteens ordered in February 1812 indicates that at times even the procurement orders were lax, not to mention the inspection of items badly needed to clothe and equip troops already in the field.

Yet other examples of deviations from the established patterns can be found. In a 'Report of Items at Boston Massachusetts Unfit for the Regular Service' dated 23 August 1815 the inspecting officer, George Flomerfelt, normally stationed in Philadelphia, told Irvine that there were, among other items, 56 bayonet belts 'made to shift

the socket of the Bayonet out from the Body of the Soldier, insted (sic) of in,' and 31 Cartouch Box Belts 'made to Button on the box instead of Buckling.' The latter comment confirms the letters from Robert Dingee, a New York leather worker, and others complaining about the lack of buckles for sale in the city in 1814. Several examples of Pattern of 1808 cartridge boxes are known with leather buttons on the bottom for the attachment of the shoulder belt.

The tin canteen situation suggests the use of serviceable old surplus. In addition Irvine attempted to purchase captured material to ease shortages. '5 bales of haversacks', along with 54 bales of blankets (50 per bale) and 36 bales of tents (five per bale) were among the cargo of the captured British ordnance ship *Stranger* that Irvine was unable to buy at auction in 1814 for want of hard currency.

With the accoutrement procurement process a fluid one, and Government officials, contractors and the marketplace all helping to determine what was actually manufactured and sent into the field, it is no wonder that a variety of patterns were both procured and used concurrently in the US Army during the War, with 'old' patterns often being seen alongside 'new' patterns in the same unit. Before the War this was not an important consideration to officers, since complete regiments seldom served together. Because of the small size of the pre-War Regular Army various companies generally served as somewhat independent commands, stationed far apart. Thus uniformity was not a primary concern; it mattered little that one company had white belting and another black. But when companies, and then regiments, were brought together it did matter to the officers in command that their troops often



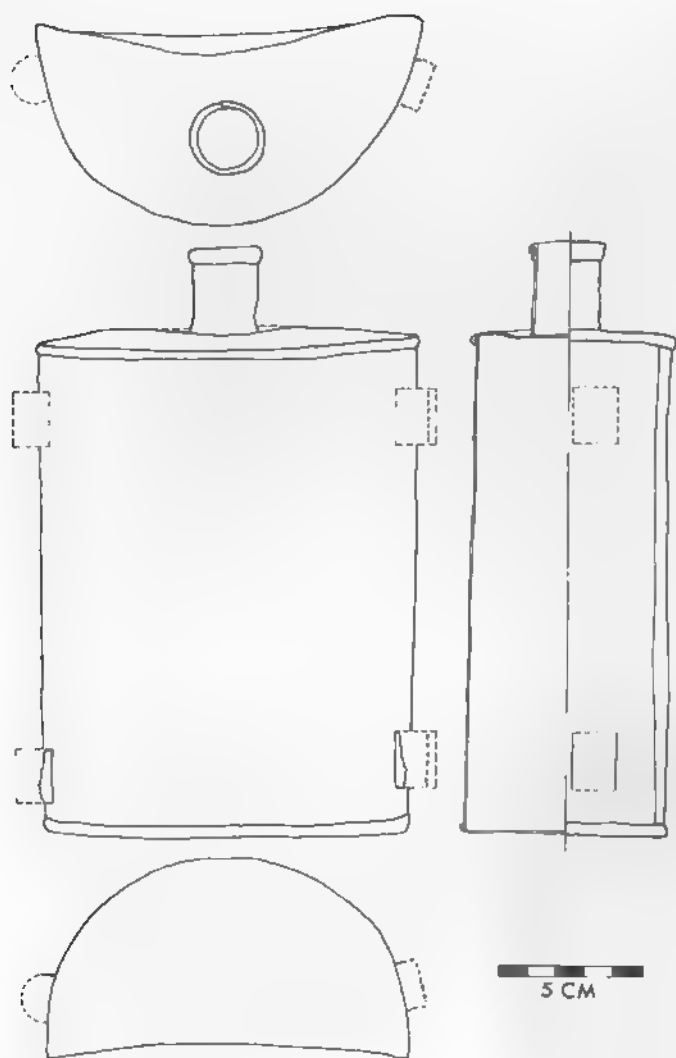


Figure 7: Tin canteen, c.1825, recovered from Fort Aikinson. This style was in use in North America as early as the Seven Years' War. This example may represent Revolutionary War surplus, or new manufacture for the War of 1812, depending on the original shape of the retainers for the sling.

presented such a motley appearance.

While it is clear that the preponderance of accoutrements used during the War did not conform exactly to the established patterns that the Army had worked so diligently to complete in the years before the War, it appears that most of the accoutrements were at least serviceable and fulfilled their roles in the hands of the troops. The majority of the complaints noted above were about pattern, and not quality.

After the War there was an effort to rid the stores of surplus material that did not conform to the regulations, through auctions or issues to the state militias. However, much still ended up in the hands of the Regulars after 1815, sometimes with instructions — particularly with regard to clothing — that the items be modified for fatigue purposes. Consequently there was widespread confusion over what was regulation for years after the War. White buff belts, for example, were not uniformly reintroduced into the US Army until 1819. Ideal accoutrements, for which the search had begun in 1808, were doubtless still an elusive goal well into the 1820s. **[M]**

#### Acknowledgements:

The author would like to thank the following individuals for their critiques during the preparation of this article: René Chartrand, Parks Canada; Stephen Osman, Minnesota Historical Society; and James Kochan, National Park Service.

#### Footnotes:

Unless otherwise indicated, all information and quotations are from documents found in the US National Archives, Washington, DC, Records Group 92 (Office of the Quartermaster General).

Figure 6: Typical canteen of 'cheese-box' construction. Canteens of the period were generally suspended by a 1/8 in. wide leather strap, although no doubt this was often replaced with a cloth sling by the soldiers when the leather wore out. (Old Sturbridge Village)

primarily the Coxe-Irvine Papers and Consolidated Correspondence Files, and Record Group 156 (Office of the Chief of Ordnance).

(1) Russell F. Weigley, *History of the United States Army* (New York, 1967), p. 109. See also John F. Callan, *The Military Laws of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1863), pp. 205-6.

(2) Frederick C. Gaede, 'The Model of 1828 Bayonet Belt', *Military Collector & Historian*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1985), pp. 159-64.

(3) About 1816 Charles Hamilton Smith, an English artist just returned from a spying mission to the United States, portrayed a group of 'United States Infantry', one of whom has what appears to be an oval brass plate on the flap of his cartridge box. This author has no corroboration for such a device for the US Army prior to 1839. Questions by other authors about details in Smith's works suggest that he worked largely from memory. The original painting is in the Houghton Library of Harvard University, and has been reproduced as Plate No. 550 in the *Military Uniforms in America* series, The Company of Military Historians.

(4) J. Duncan Campbell, 'A War of 1812 Military Trash Pie', *Military Collector & Historian*, Vol. VII, No. 4 (Winter, 1955), pp. 102-4. The majority of the items recovered are now in the collections of the Pennsylvania State Museum and the Ft. Sill Artillery Museum.

(5) Harold L. Peterson, *The Book of the Continental Soldier* (Harrisburg, 1968), pp. 144-164.

(6) The number of surviving examples has been troublesome to some students of early 19th century accoutrements. The lack of documentation of this pattern in the War of 1812 period, combined with the knowledge that tens of thousands of wooden canteens were contracted for during the Second Seminole War period (1835-42), but are equally undocumented at this time, has spurred further research on the question. Thus, while the cheesebox pattern canteen has long been associated with the War of 1812, its documentation is not as conclusive as one would like.

(7) Plate No. 538, 'Regular Infantry Regiments of the Northwest Army, 1813', *Military Uniforms in America* series, The Company of Military Collectors & Historians. Also personal communications with Joseph Thatcher, New York State Bureau of Historic Sites.

(8) Gayle E. Carlson, *Archaeological Investigations at Fort Aikinson, 1956-1971* (Nebraska State Historical Society, Publications in Anthropology), No. 8, pp. 66-7. The strap retainers have rusted off this example. If the original retainers were round then the canteen was probably surplus 18th century; if square, then it could have been surplus War of 1812.

(9) Jacob L. Grimm, *Archaeological Investigations of Fort Ligonier, 1960-1965* (Annals of Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh, 1970) Vol. 42, pp. 166-7. See also William S. Cornwell, 'Eighteenth-Century British Military Canteens', *Medical Radiography and Photography*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (1975), pp. 146-7. These 18th century examples were compared with War of 1812 examples recovered from Fort Meigs, Ohio, in the collections of The Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.

# The British Infantry of the Seven Years' War (3)

GERRY EMBLETON &  
PHILIP HAYTHORNTHWAITE  
Paintings by GERRY EMBLETON

Part 1 of this series ('*MT* No. 36) described the uniforms of all ranks, with campaign modifications, and illustrated other ranks' dress and equipment. Part 2 ('*MT* No. 37) illustrated mainly grenadiers' and officers' uniforms; and listed known regimental distinctions of Foot Guards and Line regiments, from the 1st to the 119th Foot. This concluding part covers Highland and Ranger dress.

## HIGHLANDERS

The most distinctively dressed of the infantry regiments were the Highland corps, whose uniform was based upon their national dress and copied from that of the first Highland regiment, the 42nd (whose earliest uniforms are covered in '*MT* No. 10)

Highland uniform was different from that of the ordinary regiments in almost all respects. The coat was without skirts and lapels, cut not much below waist level, single-breasted and with a deep, falling collar; this was worn over a red waistcoat. Morier's picture of a grenadier of the 42nd shows the coat laced down the front opening, with eleven pointed loops on each side of the breast; pockets edged and looped; and with collar, cuffs and flaps edged with lace. The waistcoat is single-breasted, edged with lace on the front and bottom, and with buttons markedly smaller than those on the coat

Headdress was a blue Highland bonnet, shown by a number of sources as possessing a red band and 'toorie' and either a tuft of black feathers or a piece of black bearskin; a cockade was worn at the left side. From 1747 grenadiers of Highland regiments was accorded the singular honour of wearing fur caps, as depicted by Morier, with a low frontal plate in scarlet, with a white foliate edging and bearing a crown over 'GR' — perhaps of painted metal as on the 1768 cap, or equally possibly

embroidered cloth

Two patterns of kilt were used, both the huge 'belted plaid' (*breacan-an-sheilidh*) and, for undress and perhaps use in the field, the 'little kilt' or *sheilidh beag* ('philabeg'), with a separate shoulder-plaid. Stewart of Garth <sup>(1)</sup> notes that 'the old jacket, after being worn a year, was converted into a waistcoat, and the plaid, at the end of two years, was reduced to the philabeg'. It is possible that the shoulder-plaid was removed for action: Stewart recounts a story of 1747 in which Capt. Fraser of Culduthel asked his foster-brother why he had encumbered himself with a plaid when combat was imminent; he was answered that the plaid was to carry the captain away should he be killed or injured.

The tartan used at this period is in some cases disputed, but for most if not all of the Highland regiments it was probably the 'government' sett worn by the 42nd, later known as 'Black Watch'. Coloured tartans were certainly worn before the Seven Years' War: Loudoun's Regt. (disbanded 1748) wore a dark red sett with black checks, though its actual pattern is rendered slightly differently in portraits of the Earl of Loudoun and Lt. John Reid (where the latter's waistcoat appears to be tartan). Morier's 42nd grenadier has a red over-stripe to his tartan, which may represent a company distinction — though it has also been suggested, perhaps less plausibly, that this was the 'dress' pat-

tern for the entire regiment. The kilt were worn with chequered hose (red and white diamonds shown by Morier, the more usual intersecting red and white lines by others); a leather sporran or purse; and low shoes with a rectangular metal buckle

Highlanders were regarded as being especially suited to the warfare of North America, and in some respects their uniform was more appropriate to this type of service, e.g. with the coats already cut short (originally probably to facilitate wearing of the *breacan-an-sheilidh*). In other ways it was not ideal: Knox records a

Highlander who was shot dead by a sentry from another regiment, who seeing a man with hair hanging loose and wrapped in a plaid took him for an Indian, and fired when the Highlander refused to answer a challenge (which he would not have understood, as many spoke only Gaelic)

Among adaptations made to improve the serviceability of the uniform are those mentioned in the order-books of the 42nd in 1759: 'check shirts' and cloth leggings, the latter worn either with the kilt or with breeches. These are mentioned in the 42nd's Regimental Order of 22 March 1759, when it was instructed that NCOs and men 'are to carry with them to the Field' two white and one check shirt, a spare pair of shoes, two pairs of hose and one of socks, a pair of leggings and 'one pair of short canvas breeches' <sup>(2)</sup>. The issue of breeches and leggings would seem to imply the unsuitability of the kilt; but when this was suggested to the 78th there was a universal outcry, and thanks to the efforts of Lt. Col Hon. Simon Fraser (see '*MT* No. 31) 'we were allowed to wear the garb of our fathers, and in the course of six winters, showed the doctors that they did not understand our constitutions, for in the coldest winters our men were more healthy than those regiments who wore breeches and warm clothing' <sup>(3)</sup>

The equipment of Highland regiments was different from that of the ordinary infantry, with leatherwork usually blackened. The cartridge-box (so small as to accommodate only 32 cartridges) was worn at the front of a waistbelt (Morier shows a brass crowned 'GR' for the 42nd) with the bayonet scabbard, and a dirk (purchased at the owner's expense, like the sporran, according to Stewart of Garth <sup>(4)</sup>) carried on the same belt. Over the right shoulder was worn a belt (2½ in. wide) supporting the broadsword, which had the usual pierced basket hilt, and was regarded so highly that in orders issued at Albany in May 1759 the 42nd



Highland broadsword, with typical style of pierced iron basket hilt



1



and 77th were specifically excluded from the prohibition on the carrying of swords on campaign. Pistols, a traditional adjunct to Highland dress and often carried by means of a belt-hook, were used at least by the 42nd: their 1st Bn. spent £891 in 1759 in procuring 1,080 pistols. Sergeants were armed with halberds, but for the 42nd at least these were discarded on campaign as early as 1758.

Officers' uniforms followed the same style, though some

portraits show facing-coloured lapels on the coat; for active service in North America, the normal lace and decorations were probably removed as for other regiments. In some orders of dress officers wore breeches and boots instead of the kilt, and sashes were worn over the left shoulder, presumably so as not to become entangled with the swordhilt.

**Regimental details:**  
42nd Foot (Royal Highland Regt. from 1758).

2



**Gerry Embleton's reconstructions show (1): Officer, 42nd Highlanders, c.1760.**

This is based on a contemporary portrait (see JSAHR XIX, 1940, pp. 125-126). The original shows at least eight loops on each coat lapel — this is presumably the laced coat noted as being received in 1760 — and apparently at least 16 on the waistcoat. The bonnet band appears pink, being perhaps faded, or made of red silk; and both the cockade (below the feathers) and lower binding are blue, not black as might be expected. Note that the sash passes beneath a red shoulder-strap.

**(2) Camp-followers: typical soldiers' wives, one wearing an old cut down red coat under her cloak. At the right is a costume based on Morier's painting of the 19th to 21st Foot — one of the earliest examples of a female costume based most markedly on military styles, it includes a green jacket, red waistcoat with what appears to be tasseled tape decorations, brown skirt, blue apron and neck-bow, shoes with red rosettes, and a most unusual bright green hat with yellow binding and band**

**(3) Rangers in North America, reconstructed from available contemporary evidence.**

**(3a)** is an officer, wearing a tricorne with silver lace, and silver lace and loops on a cut-down or short-made green coat; note leather breeches, Indian leggings and moccasins

**(3b)** wears the black uniform with blue facings and 'skirt' described by Knox in May 1759

**(3c)** shows a Ranger dressed in rough green cloth with serge facings, which it has been suggested might thus be distinctive from the body of the garment, this is the uniform associated with the four additional companies which Rogers was ordered to raise in 1758

**(3d)** shows a back view based upon the figure in Benjamin West's 'Death of Wolfe', whose limitations as a source are discussed in the text; it is almost certainly a uniform of later date than the Seven Years' War

**(3e)** reconstructs a Ranger in the 'hunting coat' of Osnaburg associated with Hobbs' and Speakman's companies, with wool stockings gartered over green breeches, and a blue knitted bonnet

**Col.: Lord John Murray, Apl. 1745**

**Service:** North America from 1756 (Ticonderoga); 2nd Bn W. Indies, joining 1st 1759, reduced to one bn. and employed in America until late 1767.

**Uniform:** 1751, buff facings, white lace with two red stripes, pointed loops. Facings changed to blue in 1758 with grant of title 'Royal'; contrary to some statements, this was not in acknowledgement of the unit's services at Ticonderoga, as the change of title was granted on 3

July, five days before the action. (Stewart of Garth comments especially on the sombre appearance of the regiment, with dark tartan and facings, black belts and jackets 'of a dull rusty coloured red' <sup>(25)</sup>).

A portrait of an officer post-dating this change shows a number of interesting features, including a lapelled coat (perhaps the laced coat mentioned in the regimental order books as being received in 1760; unlapelled coats perhaps continued in use for ordinary wear), with gold lace edging to

3a

3b

3e

3c

3d







Painting by David Morier, c.1751, showing (left to right): Grenadier, 40th Foot; private, 41st Invalids Regiment; and Grenadier, 42nd Highlanders — one of the most important sources for the uniform of the Highland regiments. It depicts the fur cap with scarlet front plate, the short laced jacket, and the belted plaid, the latter apparently in 'government sett' with a narrow red overstripe. Note also black leather accoutrements, and the dirk hanging beside the sporran (Windsor Castle, Royal Library; © 1991 Her Majesty the Queen).

the facings and with loops in 'bastion' shape, carried on the lapels and cuff-flaps and extending down to the bottom of the front edges of the coat; and a gold shoulder-knot at the right. The waistcoat is white, edged gold and with similar loops down the front edges and on the pockets, i.e. a different colour from the waistcoats of the other ranks. Regimental accounts in 1759 confirm the conversion of old coats into

waistcoats; Stewart of Garth states that white waistcoats were not adopted by the rank-and-file until 1769, when the badgerskin sporran was replaced by white goatskin and buff-leather.

The officer carries a fusil, and has a buff waist-belt and frontal cartridge-box bearing gilt 'GR', with a bayonet in a buff frog on this belt, and a broadsword in a black shoulder-belt with gilt rectangular buckle, slider, and heart-shaped belt-tip. The bonnet bears black feathers, as specified for officers (Regimental Order 31 May 1761, when the rank-and-file were ordered to adopt tufts of the blackest bearskin which could be acquired, not more than 5 in in length. Stewart of Garth notes that despite receiving bearskin tufts, the men supplied themselves with ostrich feathers

when possible). No sporran or dirk are shown. The order books of 1759 describe officers' dress uniform as including kilt, buff gloves, cartridge-box and 'fuzee'; and undress, knee-breeches and boots.

#### 77th (Montgomery's Highlanders)

Col.: Hon. Archibald Montgomery (or Montgomerie), later Earl of Eglinton

Service: Raised 1756 as 62nd or 1st Highland Bn., renumbered 77th 1758; served in America, disbanded 1763.

Uniform: Facings originally red, then changed to green; belted plaid, apparently similar to that of 42nd; officers' coats and waistcoats laced silver.

#### 78th (Fraser's Highlanders)

Col.: Hon. Simon Fraser, the Master of Lovat.

Service: Raised 1757 as 63rd or

2nd Highland Bn.; renumbered 78th 1758; served in America, disbanded 1763.

Uniform: Facings either light buff or white (white in 1761 Army List); belted plaid; officers' lace described as both silver and gold, probably the latter (?). Bonnet 'raised or cocked on one side, with a slight bend inclining down to the right ear, over which were suspended two or more black feathers' <sup>(6)</sup> (which may have been intended as a general description rather than referring specifically to the 78th). Armed with broadswords (hilts apparently enamelled black), muskets (perhaps shorter than normal, as in 1759 companies in Louisbourg exchanged theirs for the 'heavy arms' of men detailed for light infantry service), and dirks provided individually.

Despite the earlier remarks



on the successful attempt to retain the kilt, Lt. Malcolm Fraser noted at Quebec in December 1759: 'The Garrison in general are but indifferently clothed, but our regiment in particular is in a pitiful situation having no breeches, and the Philibeg is not all calculated for this terrible climate. Colonel Fraser is doing all in his power to provide trousers...' <sup>(7)</sup>. The nuns of the Ursuline Convent in Quebec knitted stockings for the regiment. Fraser records narrow escapes for Col. Fraser which pertain to the regimental equipment: on 28 April 1760 one shot 'took him in the right breast but having the cartouche box slung, it luckily struck against the star of it and did not penetrate thro'...'; the second 'striking against the cue of his hair, he received no other damage than a stiffness in his neck' <sup>(8)</sup>.

There is some debate over

the tartan, but there would appear to be no contemporary evidence of the use of anything but the 'government' sett. West's painting of the death of Wolfe shows an officer wearing a tartan including red, buff, green and blue, but little reliance should be placed upon this as it was painted after the event (and shows buff lapels, which 78th officers may have worn like the 42nd, but this is perhaps doubtful). The 'red Fraser' tartan is more modern, but whilst it is just conceivable that it might be based upon a design adopted by Fraser for his regiment (as speculated in *A Short History of the old 78th Regiment or Fraser's Highlanders 1757-1763*, Col. J. R. Harper, Montreal 1966), there is no evidence for this.

**87th (Keith's Highlanders)**  
Col: Robert Murray Keith.

**Service:** Formed 1757-58, Germany from August 1759; disbanded July 1763. Appears to have acted with the 88th as a regiment of two bns. in which officers were interchangeable. **Uniform:** Facings buff or yellow, probably 'government' tartan. Englebrecht's prints of Highlanders in Germany probably depict the 87th and 88th, but apart from showing unlaced jackets and waistcoats, and belted plaids, appear to be just 'representative' Highland figures. The portrait of Keith in Highland uniform, with green facings, gold lace and 'government' tartan is probably not relevant as it was painted in Vienna in 1779; the clothing depicted was sent to Keith by a relative (presumably for the purpose of the portrait) and was in the style then current, with little relevance to what he had worn when commanding

*Reconstructions of Highland costume*  
(a) Soldier of the 42nd in summer campaign dress, with a 'check' shirt, uniform waistcoat, breeches and leggings.

(b) Officer, based on William Delacour's 'The Pinch of Snuff' (1750) which, although probably depicting an Independent Company, shows a typical style. Although feathers were worn in the bonnet, this practice pre-dates the convention by which ranks of chieftain within a clan were distinguished by the numbers of feathers worn.

(c) Highland officer, based on Allan Ramsay's portrait of John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun. While depicting a uniform of a regiment disbanded before the period under review (and lacking a shoulder-knot in the original), it shows a lapelled jacket as worn by officers.

(d) Soldier of the 42nd in campaign dress, with the waistcoat omitted for summer, and with leggings worn with the philibeg.

(e) Officer in uniform for field service, wearing breeches and stockings instead of kilt and hose, and carrying equipment necessary for the use of a fusil. (Gerry Embleton)





*A rare and remarkable survival. woolen clothing of c 1715 preserved in a peat bog at Arnish Moor, Lewis. This shows a civilian style in many ways very similar indeed to 'Ranger' dress, suggesting that this uniform was based upon prevalent civilian styles rather than upon costume unique to North America. The knitted bonnet is shown in close-up; it was probably imported from the Lowlands, since other clothing found in the islands is almost invariably cut from woven woolen cloth rather than knitted. This example is probably exactly like that worn by Highland regiments and Rangers in the Seven Years' War (National Museums of Scotland)*



his regiment in Germany  
**88th (Royal or Campbell's Highland Volunteers)**  
 Col.: John Campbell of Dunoon  
 Service: Formed January 1760; served with the 87th as an associated battalion; disbanded July

1763  
 Uniform: Apparently like that of the 87th  
**89th (Morris' Highlanders)**  
 Col.: Staats Long Morris.  
 Service: Formed at Gordon Castle, October 1759 (Morris



was husband of the Dowager Duchess of Gordon); India from 1761 (Buxar); disbanded 1765.  
 Uniform: Light yellow facings, tartan apparently 'government'

#### **100th (Campbell's Highlanders)**

CO: Colin Campbell, Maj. Cmdt.; replaced by John Broughton Aug. 1762 after Campbell had killed the regiment's Capt. MacHarg.  
 Service: Formed May 1761 from four independent companies raised Aug./Sept. 1760, Martinique 1761-62; disbanded 1763

#### **101st (Johnstone's Highlanders)**

CO: James Johnstone of Westerhall, Maj. Cmdt  
 Service: Five independent companies formed 1760 to reinforce 87th and 88th in Germany; officers then sent back to recruit a new regiment, formed 1761 under Johnstone; served at home, disbanded 1762

Uniform: Facings pale yellowish buff; Johnstone (not a Highlander) 'made himself agreeable to his men by wearing their favourite garb' (10).

#### **105th (Queen's Own Royal Highlanders)**

Col.: David Graeme of Gorthry.  
 Service: Raised Oct. 1761, two bns.; served in Ireland, disbanded 1763

Uniform: May have been like that of the 42nd: blue facings for 'royal' status?

#### **RANGERS**

Considerable confusion has arisen over the uniform of the Rangers, the independent companies of light infantry formed in North America. One of the co-authors of this series (Gerry Embleton) has made a long and detailed study of Ranger costume, endeavouring to place the original sources in their exact context, and revealing the errors in many of the reconstructions and generalizations which have appeared in the past. The following comments are made as a result of this extensive research.

It is not clear to what extent the British copied from the American colonists and Indians; many of the frontier colonists were at that time comparatively new immigrants, knowing less about

fighting in the forest wilderness than some of the regulars, who could draw upon light infantry tactics developing in Europe; the concept of the frontier colonists as 'mountain men' types is inaccurate. Consequently, Ranger costumes seem to have evolved far more from the light infantry-style uniform modifications described in Part 1 of this series than from any specifically North American native influence, with the notable exception of Indian-style leggings, there was undoubtedly some influence from 'native' Scottish dress, presumably arising from the Scottish background of many of the colonists.

It is known that some officers who worked closely with the Indians were painted in semi-Indian costume (*after* the Seven Years' War), but it is not clear to what extent this was a romantic artistic convention or representative of what was actually worn.

It is extremely unlikely that the print 'portrait' of Rogers by Thomas Hart is actually a likeness of a Ranger uniform of the 1750s; the cut and style is typical of the 1770s and may be based on West's 'Death of Wolfe' (William Wolletts published an engraving after West in January 1776, the same year that Hart published his Rogers 'portrait'). In West's picture (painted 1770) is a figure in a green uniform, cut-down hat and Indian leggings. There is no evidence that this is either Howe or Rogers; in fact his powderhorn bears the name of Sir William Johnson, who was not present — several of the personalities shown were not actually there. It may be that the Indian and Ranger are not portrait figures but simply North American 'colour'; there would seem to be no foundation for the suggestion that Rogers lent his uniform for the painting.

After close inspection of all West's paintings and drawings of Indians and semi-Indian costume, it seems possible that West was drawing variations based on some items in his possession; it is known that Indians interested him, but with the exception of one

painting ('Penn and the Indians') they all seem remarkably similar. He may well have known their appearance exactly, but have chosen elements of their costume which suited the subject of his paintings rather than producing exact likenesses of the real thing.

Despite the lack of evidence, modern artists insist on depicting Rogers wearing the uniform in Hart's print and West's painting. The only evidence we have of Ranger costumes are some sparse written sources, and very little indeed on Rogers' Rangers. Excluded as a reliable source is the oft-quoted *Diary of a Ranger* in a private collection; this has never, as far as is known, been produced for authentication, and this artist remains unconvinced of its authenticity: the language sounds like a parody of 18th century English, and there are extremely dubious references to home-made 'RR' belt-buckles and *Balmoral* bonnets — a century before Queen Victoria's Scottish residence brought the term into use?

The 'Ranger' uniform was not restricted to the locally-raised companies; at Louisbourg in 1758 a corps of volunteer marksmen was assembled from the regular battalions, some clothed in blue and some in green jackets and 'drawers', with small 'round hats' like seamen, ruffs of black bearskin around the neck, and equipped with fusil, cartouche-box for balls and flints, and a powder-horn slung over the shoulder.

The original Ranger 'uniform' is obscure, although the *Boston Weekly News* in October 1750 carried an advertisement for 'gentlemen volunteers' for the Independent Companies of Rangers in Nova Scotia, who were promised uniforms of blue broadcloth. Knox in July 1757 described Capt. Rogers' Rangers as having no particular uniform, but 'only wear their cloaths short', armed with firelock, tomahawk and scalping-knife, with a powder-horn under the right arm suspended from a belt over the left shoulder (the officers with a small compass fixed to the base of the horn), and a leather or sealskin bag at the front of the waist-

belt, containing bullets and the pea-sized shot often loaded with a ball<sup>(11)</sup>. Mention is made in 1757 of leather caps worn by Rangers in Nova Scotia, with powder-horns instead of cartridge-boxes. In May 1759 Knox described their 'new uniform':

'...The ground is of black rat-teen or frize, lapelled and cuffed with blue; here follows a description of their dress; a waistcoat with sleeves; a short jacket without sleeves; only armholes and wings to the shoulders (in like manner as the Grenadiers and Drummers of the army) white metal buttons, linen or canvas drawers, with a blue skirt or petticoat of stuff, made with a waistband and one button; this is open before and does not quite extend to their knees; a pair of leggins of the same colour as their coat, which reach up to the middle of the thighs (without flaps) and from the calf of the leg downward they button like spatterdashes; with this active dress they wear blue bonnets, and I think, in great measure resemble our Highlanders'<sup>(12)</sup>.

The use of the 'skirt' is interesting; presumably it was a protective garment copied from that worn by seamen and civilian labourers; yet it may conceivably have had some Scottish connection in resembling a kilt, as Stewart of Garth mentions one of the methods of circumventing the proscription of Highland dress after the '45' by the use of philabeg-like garments 'made of a stuff of one colour and not of tartan'<sup>(13)</sup>. Like the bonnet, it is possible that such Scottish civilian dress acted in part as an inspiration for the Rangers' 'petticoat'.

There was evidently little uniformity in the clothing of various companies. Hobbs' and Speakman's companies, which joined Rogers' Rangers in January 1757, had been equipped according to the terms of their enlistment with a 'hunting coat' (presumably a 'frock' or smock-skirt, which some suggest was an early dress of Rogers' corps, dyed green, though there is no direct evidence), waistcoat, breeches, Indian leggings, shoes, hatchet and firelock, the clothing of

'Osnaaburg' (coarse linen) apparently grey in colour. Both muskets and shoes were of ordinary army pattern. Grey may have been a popular colour among the provincial corps (i.e. not paid by the British government like Rogers' and Gorham's Rangers) was the 'New Jersey Frontier Guard', which wore grey, lapelled short coats, green 'under-jackets' (waistcoats), leather breeches, stockings and leather caps.

In 1758 Rogers was ordered to raise four additional Ranger companies, and had uniforms made for the whole in green cloth of a shaggy-napped variety known as 'Bath Rug': short jackets and waistcoats, with green serge collar, cuffs and lining, white metal buttons, with silver-laced hats and silver cord loopings on some, presumably for officers and perhaps sergeants<sup>(14)</sup>. Although the Scottish bonnet remained in use — the contractor noted that 'the Rangers who can get them wear nothing else when they go out'<sup>(15)</sup> — officers obviously wore tricorn hats, the use of leather caps probably continued, and a note also mentions 'little round hats like several of our seamen'<sup>(16)</sup>. Some accounts mention Rogers' use of a light infantry cap with silver lace binding, or a small metal plate in front designed to turn the blow of an axe; but evidence for this is unclear and may be based on nothing more than the dubious Hart and West illustrations — as may the statement that the jacket had a double row of eight white-metal buttons on the breast and four on each sleeve. Other comments are even more difficult to authenticate, such as the use of beaded Indian-style shoulder-belts as officers' sashes, which is unlikely. Leather breeches, Indian leggings and moccasins were used, but it is impossible to state to what degree they were common; though a note in the *Boston News-Letter* in October 1759 implied that the presence of 'Indian Stockings' and 'Moggasens' on a drowned corpse pointed to it being a deserter from Rogers' Rangers. In February 1760 it is noted that a detachment of Rangers



crossing Maine were reduced to eating their leather breeches!

There appears to have been no issue of watchcoats, but the Rangers used blankets instead, worn Indian-fashion, tucked beneath their belt and draped over the head like a monk's cowl, worn with flannel or leather mittens (less likely to freeze the fingers than conventional gloves); bearskin scarves also appear to have been used. Originally Rogers' companies bought their own blankets, so there would probably be no uniformity of colour, until in 1756 blanket material was obtained from government stores.

Other equipment included the bullet-pouch and powder-horn, with a leather knapsack or haversack. Muskets were provided by the individual, and apparently (at least latterly) had to have a bayonet. Some contemporary accounts remark that shorter-barrelled weapons were more useful for service in the woods. Knives were carried (sometimes glamorized by the term 'scalping knife'), and the ubiquitous hatchet or tomahawk.

There are in addition records of very different Ranger costume. For example, the *Boston Evening Post* (2 July 1759) described a deserter from Brewer's company wearing a blue 'surtout coat' with brass buttons, blue waistcoat and nankeen breeches (though this may have been a civilian costume). In 1761 John Gorham's Rangers were noted (in deserter descriptions in the *Boston News-Letter*) as having red coats turned-up with brown, with brown collar and lining, which could be worn either side out; brown waistcoats, linen drawers and leather jockey-caps with an oak-leaf or branch painted on the left (presumably a permanent 'field-sign'). Two years later a sergeant deserter is described as wearing a red coat, waistcoat and breeches, with silver vellum button-holes on the coat and waistcoat. **MI**

#### Notes:

- (1) *Sketches of the Character, Manners and present state of the Highlanders of Scotland*, (ed.) David Stewart of Garth, Edinburgh 1822, I p 361
- (2) See 'Regimental Routine and Army Administration in North America in 1759', ed. R.F.H. Wallace, *JSAHR*

- XXX, 1952, p 10
- (3) Stewart of Garth, II p 23
- (4) *ibid.*, II p.21
- (5) *ibid.*, I p.361
- (6) *ibid.*, II p.21
- (7) Originally published 1868, see 'The Capture of Quebec', ed Brig R.O. Alexander, *JSAHR* XVIII, 1939, p.161
- (8) *ibid.* p.165
- (9) See 'Three Prints of Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders', Maj. I.H. Mackay Scobie, *JSAHR* XX, 1941, pp 162-69
- (10) Stewart of Garth, II p.42
- (11) *A Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759 and 1760*, J. Knox, Toronto 1914, I p.34
- (12) *ibid.* I p.307
- (13) Stewart of Garth, II p.411
- (14) John Maccomb Letter-Book, NY State Library, 22 April 1758: quoted in *The History of Rogers' Rangers*, Burt Loescher, 1946, p 284
- (15) *ibid.* p.274
- (16) quoted *ibid.* p 282

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*History of the Uniforms of the British Army*, C.C.P. Lawson, Vols. II (London 1941) and III (London 1961)

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'Army Inspection Returns 1753-1804' Rev. P. Sumner, *JSAHR* IV, 1926, pp.23-24, part of this author's valuable series of extracts from Inspection Returns

The Journal of Knox of the 43rd was published in 1769, and in an annotated edition in 1914 (see footnote), but probably the most accessible version (albeit much reduced) is *The Siege of Quebec and the Campaigns in North America 1757-1760*, ed B Connell London 1971

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*British Infantry Uniforms since 1660*, M.J. Barthorp, Poole 1982

*British Military Firearms 1650-1850*, H.L. Blackmore, London 1961

*The History of Rogers' Rangers*, Burt Loescher, 1946, has an appendix on Ranger uniform

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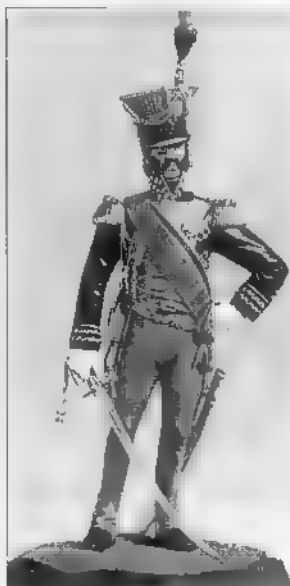
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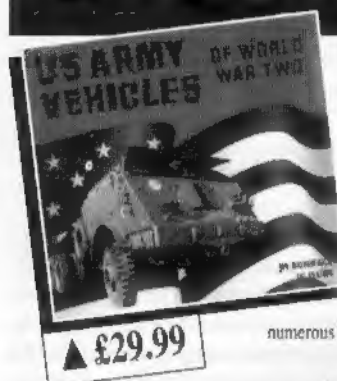


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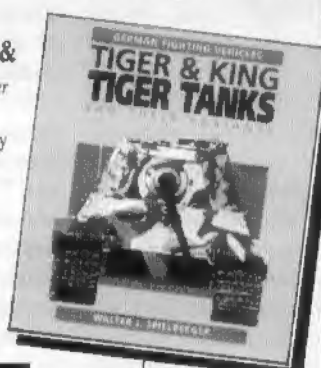
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## GALLERY

# Hugh de Lacy II

SARAH SPEIGHT

Painting by MICHAEL PERRY

This article attempts a reconstruction of the career and appearance of a typical Norman baron of the 12th century — one of that extraordinary breed of men whose iron will and restless energy changed the face of Europe utterly, and laid the foundations of the modern Western world. The field upon which Hugh de Lacy — the second of that name — won renown was Ireland, during the early years of Norman expansion.

The Lacy family were enfeoffed in the Welsh marches shortly after the Norman conquest. During the civil war of Stephen's reign they supported the Empress, and as a result forfeited their caput, Ludlow Castle. Their struggle to regain it, finally achieved in 1166, is described in the 13th century romance of 'Fouke Le Fitz Waryn' <sup>(1)</sup>.

Hugh II de Lacy benefited from favours shown his family by Henry II. He was allowed free reign to update his castles, and was responsible for the important donjon at Longtown in Herefordshire, the earliest free-standing circular tower in the Brecon region <sup>(2)</sup>. In 1172 the king sent him to Ireland, where by 1186 he had become Justiciar, Earl of Meath, constable of Dublin Castle, and Viceroy for the young Prince John, 'Lord of Ireland' since 1177.

The death of Brian Boru at Clontarf in 1014 saw the government of Ireland dissolve into chaos as the kings and princes squabbled among themselves. In 1166 Diarmait Mac-Murchada, King of Leinster, fled to Bristol and called on the Anglo-Norman baronage to help restore his rule. The rewards offered were substantial:

'Whoever shall wish for land or pence, /Horses, armour or chargers, /Gold or silver, I shall give them very ample pay/ Whoever shall wish/For soil or sod/Richly shall I enfeof them' <sup>(3)</sup>.

Henry II acquiesced, and an

exodus of marcher barons began. The first contingents landed in May 1169, mainly knights but with a vital core of Welsh archers. The following August Richard, Earl of Pembroke ('Strongbow') arrived, married the daughter of the King of Leinster, and in May 1171 succeeded his father-in-law as king, despite Irish objections. Henry II was also alarmed to see one of his subjects become a 'king'.

In October 1171 Henry himself crossed the channel with a substantial army, described by Roger of Hoveden as consisting of 'four hundred great ships with warriors, horses, arms and food'. The fleet also carried five prefabricated siege towers <sup>(4)</sup>; their presence helped calm the situation. Most of the Irish kings accepted Henry's overlordship; Strongbow accepted the lesser title of 'Earl' of Leinster, and Hugh II de Lacy was installed as Earl of Meath to keep watch on him.

## A POWER IN IRELAND

Unfortunately for Henry II, Hugh had an independent mind, and his ambitions followed the same course as Strongbow's. In 1180 he married Rose O'Connor of Connacht, daughter of the current High King of Ireland. At once he became a major figure in Irish politics. This was recognised by the historian Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis), who spent 1183 and Easter 1185 to Easter 1186 in Ireland. He describes Hugh's appearance and character in his *Expugnatio*





Examples of late 12th century knightly equipment. Three helmets common to this period are shown (A,B,C), together with a padded arming cap (D) worn under the mail. By mid-century the new-style rounded helm often appears without a nasal guard (A), this becoming more frequent by the end of the century. The nasal helm with the forward-tilting apex (B) is first illustrated during the 11th century and continues to appear in illustrations until the end of the 12th century. Cloaks were generally lined in fur; (E) is fastened at the neck by a tasselled draw-string, but others were fastened at the right shoulder by a brooch or knot. The other details show features reconstructed in the colour painting. (Michael Perry)

*Hibernica* ('the conquest of Ireland'):

'If you wish to know what Hugh's complexion and features were like, he was dark, with dark, sunken eyes and flattened nostrils. His face was grossly disfigured down the right side as far as his chin by a burn, the result of an accident. His neck was short, his body hairy and sinewy. If you further enquire as to his height, he was a short man; if you want a description of his build, he was misshapen, and as to his character, resolute and reliable, restrained from excess by French sobriety. He paid much attention to his own private affairs, and was most careful in the administration of the office entrusted to him and in his conduct of public affairs. Although extremely well versed in the business of war, he was not a success as a general, for he often suffered heavy losses on his expeditions. After the death of his wife he was a womanizer and enslaved by lust, not for just one woman, but for many. He was avaricious and greedy for gold, and more ambitious for his own advancement and pre-eminence than was proper' <sup>(5)</sup>.

The 'Geraldines' (a modern term for the relatives of Gerald of Wales) included such Anglo-Irish luminaries as the Fitz-

Henrys, the Fitz-Stephens, the Carews, the Barrys and the Cogans. In 1183 Gerald's Fitz-Stephen uncle and his brother Philip were fighting the Gaelic Irish in Co. Cork. Gerald thus had a sound grounding in Irish affairs; and while he usually reserved his praise for his relatives, several facets of Hugh de Lacy's character impressed him:

'... Hugh de Lacy, a man possessed of great honesty and good sense, made an excellent job of fortifying Leinster and Meath with castles. Among these he built the castle of Leighlin on that noble river, the Barrow, on the Osraige bank. It was situated beyond Ui Drona in a naturally well protected position... But Hugh de Lacy went to great trouble to conciliate those who had been conquered by others and forcibly ejected from their lands, and thus he restored the countryside to its rightful cultivators and brought back cattle to pastures which had formerly been deserted. So when he had won their support, he enticed them to his side still further by his mild rule and by making agreements on which they could rely, and finally, when they had been hemmed in by castles and gradually subdued, he compelled them to obey the laws... he made the more important of

them (the Irish) his allies. The net result was that he was strongly suspected of wanting to throw off his allegiance (i.e. to Henry II) and usurp the government of the kingdom, and with it the crown and sceptre' <sup>(6)</sup>.

### A STEALTHY NOOSE OF CASTLES

Rather than try to replace Henry II in Ireland, Hugh was copying some of his policies on a smaller scale. He set up a two-tier system of government, rewarding his Anglo-Norman retainers with castles and fiefs after the English fashion; whilst to the Irish he was little more than a typical Irish king, expecting rents and tributes. The chronicler of Loch Ce said of him that 'he was king of Midhe and Breifne and Airghaill and it was to him that the tribute of Connacht was paid' <sup>(7)</sup>. Yet his success was threatening to Henry II. In 1181 Hugh was recalled to England in disgrace. Within a year he was back: no other man could so command the respect of the Irish.

The Norman invasion of Ireland was piecemeal — not until the 13th century did any concerted campaign begin. In Hugh's time Henry II's policy was to ensure his acknowledgement as over-king; it was a political understanding that was

wanted rather than a costly and unproductive full-scale takeover. The tactics of the 1170s — 80s were to bribe, to flatter, to intermarry and to impress. At Christmas 1171 Henry II feasted the local chiefs in Dublin, stunning them with 'the sumptuous and plentiful fare of the English table and the most elegant service by the royal domestics' <sup>(8)</sup>. Hugh followed the same policies, treating the Irish with respect while at the same time making them covet Norman sophistication and its inferred social superiority.

As the Irish succumbed to Norman diplomacy they were being surrounded by castles. With no long-term plans yet formulated the Normans concentrated on earth and timber constructions, and spread their resources thinly. Hugh alone built 15 fortifications for his retainers in Meath, Ulster and Leinster:

'He also built a castle for Robert de Bigarz close by, in Ui Buidhe; a castle for Thomas of Flanders not far from there, in the furthest part of Ui Muiredhaigh, separated from Ui Buidhe by the waters of the Barrow; and a castle for Robert Fitz Richard at Norrach. In Meath he built the castle of Clonard, the castle of Killare, a castle for Adam de Futepoi, another for Gilbert de Nugent and many others which it would be tedious to enumerate individually' <sup>(9)</sup>.

Hugh's own caput was Trim where, in 1172, he built the ringwork described in the near-contemporary Norman-French poem, *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*: 'Then Hugh de Lacy/Fortified a house at

Some of the original references used in the painting: (A) Winchester Bible, c.1170; (B) Belt detail — Church of St. Justina, Padua, c.1210; (C) Cloak fastening — Chartres Cathedral, late 12th C; (D) Bliaut — Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 12th C; (E) Mounted knight — French, Bibliothèque Nationale, mid to late 12th C; (F) Mitten — silver shrine of Charlemagne, Aachen Cathedral, c.1207. (Michael Perry)

Trim and threw a trench around it, and then enclosed it with a stockade'.<sup>(10)</sup>

## SUDDEN DEATH

His power may have gone to his head — one possible reason for Hugh's assassination was his desecration of an ancient religious complex at Durrow (Co. Offaly) by the construction of a motte-and-bailey within it:

'Hugh de Lacy went to Durrow-Colmcille, to build a castle in it, having a countless number of foreigners along with him; for he was king of Meath, and Briefne, and Airgialla, and it was to him the tribute of Connacht was paid; and he it was that won all Ireland for the foreigners. Meath, from the Shannon to the sea, was full of castles and of foreigners. After he had completed this work, namely the erection of the castle at Durrow, he came out to look at the castle, having three foreigners along with him. There came towards him then a youth of the men of Meath, namely Gilla-gan-inathair Ua Miad-haigh, foster-son of the Siannach himself, having his axe hidden under his cloak, and he gave de Lacy one blow, so that he cut off his head, and he fell, both head and body, into the ditch of the castle'.<sup>(11)</sup>

According to the Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, it was as Hugh was bending to the ground to demonstrate the use of a pickaxe that the assassin struck.<sup>(12)</sup> Gerald's version of the tragedy is briefer: 'Hugh de Lacy, a man never safe from the enemy's axe, was beheaded by the treachery of his own Irish followers at Durrow'.<sup>(13)</sup>

Henry II was delighted with the news. There followed an unseemly dispute over burial rights which kept Hugh's head and torso separated for over 20 years. Initially the body was buried at Durrow, but in 1195 it



was translated to the Cistercian Abbey of Bective in Meath. The head was buried in the Augustinian Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin. The two houses proceeded to argue their rights to the complete remains, and after the case had gone to the papal court judgement was finally given in 1205 in favour of Dublin.

\*\*\*

Hugh was succeeded by two sons; the eldest, Walter, became Earl of Meath while the younger, Hugh III, carved out for himself the earldom of Ulster. On his death in 1242 he was described as 'a most renowned warrior and the glorious conqueror of a great part of Ireland'. Both Walter and Hugh III were aided by their half-brother William, a son of Hugh II by an Irish woman. William was described by Matthew Paris as 'chiefest champion in these parts of Europe, and the hardest and strongest hand of any Englishman from the Nicene seas to this place'.<sup>(14)</sup>

Hugh II used Ireland to create his own 'kingdom', his own system of feudal dependencies based around his household retainers. It was the bond between the lord and these men, his 'familia', which enabled the Normans to retain a foothold in Ireland. One of Hugh's charters refers to 'those who first came to Ireland with Hugh de Lacy in his conquest'. A gift to St Thomas's Dublin was witnessed by his 'tota familia'; while even after his death his retainer Adam de Feypo (for whom Hugh built Killare cas-

tle) was issuing grants in his memory.<sup>(15)</sup> As the chroniclers and analysts show, this was a man who left a long-lasting legacy to Ireland, not the least being the numerous earthworks that still dot the landscape. The latest archaeological survey of Meath noted the existence of 94 mottes and ringworks before 1215<sup>(16)</sup> and Hugh was responsible for a large proportion of these. Yet when he died in 1186 he was only in his late forties or fifties.

MI

## Notes:

- (1) Joseph Stevenson, ed. *Radulphi De Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, including the Gesta Fulconis Filii Warini, Rolls Series London 1875; E.J. Hathaway, P.T. Ricketts, C.A. Robson and A.D. Wilshire, *Fouke Le Fitz Waryn*, Anglo-Norman Text Society XXVI-XXVIII, Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1975.
- (2) For Hugh's building work in England see D.F. Renn, 'The Round Keeps of the Brecon Region', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* Vol. CX 1961, pp. 129-143; D.F. Renn, 'Chastel de Dynan: the First Phases of Ludlow', in J.R. Kenyon and R. Avent, ed. *Castles in Wales and the Marches: Essays in Honour of D.J. Cathcart-King*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff 1987, pp. 55-73.
- (3) G.H. Orpen, ed. *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*, Oxford 1892, II 431-6.
- (4) J.F. Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages*, Gill and Macmillan, Dublin 1972, p.41.
- (5) A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin, ed. and trans. *Giraldus Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland*, Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 1978, p.193.
- (6) *Ibid* p.191.
- (7) W.M. Hennessy ed., *Annals of Loch Ce*, Rolls Series 2 vols, London 1871, Vol. I p.173.
- (8) Scott and Martin, *Giraldus Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica*, pp.96-7.
- (9) *Ibid* p.195. For the remains of these castles see G.H. Orpen, 'Motes and Norman Castles in Ireland', *English Historical Review* Vol. XXII 1907.
- (10) Orpen, *The Song of Dermot and the*

## Colour

Michael Perry's reconstruction on the back cover is based on the description by Gerald of Wales of Hugh's character and features, and on the general appearance of a nobleman in the 1180s. The sleeves of the mail hauberk end in mittens, a relatively new feature, with a square hole in the palm to allow the hand to pass through. Although there is no pictorial evidence for such a garment at this date, it seems certain that a padded gambeson of the same size and shape was worn under the mail hauberk to cushion its weight and absorb the energy of blows. Beneath this Hugh wears a bliaut, heavily embroidered at cuffs, neck and hem. Beneath this his shirt or light undergarment has tails protruding to ankle length — a fashion that must have caused difficulties when fighting on foot, and which does not seem to have persisted for long. Note that his short boots have a coloured lining.

The shield bears the de Lacy arms, which probably first appeared towards the end of Hugh's life; the shield-boss was old-fashioned by this date, and was soon to disappear. The helm was worn over a padded arming cap/coif; at this date the nasal helm had had its pointed apex reduced to a dome. Here it is decorated with fleurs-de-lis; the practice of painting the crown was common. The rim or circlet is gilt; in some cases this was richly engraved and studded with jewels. The helmet attached to the mail by a series of up to 15 leather laces threaded through the links.

Earl, 3222-5; for the archaeological evidence see T.B. Barry, *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland*, Methuen 1987, pp.46-7.

(11) Hennessy, *Annals of Loch Ce*, p.173.

(12) J.T. Gilbert ed., *Annals of Ireland 1162-1370* in *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin II*, Dublin 1884, p.305.

(13) Scott and Martin, *Giraldus Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica*, p.235.

(14) R.R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100-1300*, Cambridge University Press 1990, p.35, n.35.

(15) *Ibid* pp.32-33.

(16) *Ibid* p.41.

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**Hugh de Lacy,  
Meath, c.1185**

